A SUMMARY VIEW OF THE PRESENT POPULATION OF THE PRINCIPAL CITIES AND TOWNS OF FRANCE,

COMPARED WITH THE

PRINCIPAL CITIES AND TOWNS OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

BY AN UNPREJUDICED TRAVELLER.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR G. KEARSLEY, N° 46, FLEET-STREET.

1797.

BRITISH MUSEUM

ADVERTISEMENT.

AT a time when the French bravado of an invaſion is induſtriouſly circulated by the enemies of Great Britain, both at home and abroad; and, however abſurd, may become accredited by a number of weak and ignorant perſons—a fit occaſion preſents itſelf for exhibiting to public view a conciſe Statement of the Population of the principal Cities and Towns of the *Two Empires*; from which we may, in a great meaſure, deduce an eſtimate of their Comparative Strength, and properly meet the exaggerations and *fanfaronnade* of a government, which, without one *fourth* part of our Naval Power, now threatens a deſcent on theſe coaſts, for the purpoſe of ſubjugating (with as much facility as they have done the degenerate and nerveleſs race of Lombardy) a people famed in battle, and ſpirited as themſelves:—a people who actually count upwards of 300.000 diſciplined men ſerving in their fleets and armies, and whoſe *levée-en-maſſe* would, no doubt, if fighting for their Properties, their Liberty, and Religion,

be

be inſpired with an enthuſiaſtic courage, at leaſt equal to that which, through the courſe of this all-devaſting Revolution, has been the chief boaſt and glory of the Republicans.

A ſcheme for invading England was, in April, 1794, offered by a member of the Jacobin Club at Paris, accompanied with the hackneyed Roman maxim, "*Delenda eſt Carthago!*" — The late Maximilian Robeſpierre, notwithſtanding the gigantic ſcale of his ambition, aſcended the tribune, and treated ſuch propoſal merely as deriſive *(comme un perſiflage)* while the fleets of Great Britain rode triumphant in every part of the Channel.—Yet the navy of France was not then cruſhed, as at this day: ſhe had 200.000 ſoldiers in her weſtern provinces; and our internal defence wore a far leſs formidable aſpect.

Never has an æra occurred in the hiſtory of our country, when the following words of Shakſpeare could be applied with more propriety, or confidence:—

"England is ſafe—if true within itſelf."

HEN. VI.

BRITISH MUSEUM

INTRO-

INTRODUCTION.

THE cities and towns of France, and of Great Britain and Ireland, here ſtated, are at a *medium* of various computations, ſtrictly ſcrutinized by the author, upon his own immediate *local* enquiry; their ſuburbs and dependencies, cloſely adjacent, being included:—Thus—Southwark is added to London, Goſport to Portſmouth, Leith to Edinburgh, Plymouth-dock and Stonehouſe to Plymouth Town; *La Recouvrance* is reckoned as a part of *Breſt*; we croſs the *Seine* to complete the population of *Rouen*; have joined *le Pollet* to Dieppe, and the ſcattered *baſtides** to Marſeilles.

It is uſual for calculators on population, in this country, to take the number of dwelling-houſes, and multiply by 5, or, at the utmoſt, by 6, to

* The pavillions and rural retreats (of which there are many hundreds in this neighbourhood) are ſo called.

aſcertain the inhabitancy; but this will be found a moſt defective ſcale, if applied to our flouriſhing manufacturing towns, ſuch as Mancheſter, Wolverhampton, Leeds, &c. or even to Derby, or Worceſter, though it anſwers the purpoſe in general for inferior market-towns and villages, or perhaps for the cities of York, Lincoln, Hereford, &c. where there are no manufactories.—To average five perſons in each family may be fully ſufficient, yet we ſometimes find two, and even three or four families, under one roof. We muſt alſo, in places of trade, conſider a multitude of inmates and apprentices.

Allowance ought alſo to be made, in our principal cities, for hoſpitals, jails, work-houſes, charitable eſtabliſhments, and boarding-ſchools; and for paupers, who have no better ſleeping-place than a ſtable, or hovel; and for occaſional abſentees*.

We cannot deduce a fair eſtimate from Eccleſiaſtical Regiſters of Deaths and Baptiſms. Many children (for inſtance, of the Hebrew nation, and thoſe whoſe parents are of a Diſſenting ſect) are never entered on ſuch record; and a great number of perſons die by fire, or on ſeas or rivers, and by divers accidents, who are altogether unnoticed in a Bill of Mortality.

* Perſons on military, or naval ſervice, &c.

Some

Some of the ſea-ports may, from a ſuperficial view, appear to be too highly rated. We muſt recollect that, at all times, a great many of their inhabitants are only to be found on the waves, or in a foreign land: the ſmall town of Falmouth reckons above one thouſand ſea-faring men.—We do not pretend, on either ſide, to ſo minute an exactitude as to mention any intermediate hundreds in the following Tables of *Calculation.*—Obſerve, that the Revolution is underſtood to commence at the 1ſt of January, 1789, or rather in the month of July of *that* year, when the *Baſtile* was taken by aſſault.

FRANCE.	1ſt Jan. 1789.		1ſt July, 1796.
*Paris	850.000	—	600.000
Bourdeaux	145.000	—	115.000
Lyon	150.000	—	100.000
Marſeille	100.000	—	70.000
Toulouſe	80.000	—	58.000
Rouen	90.000	—	70.000
Nantes	78.000	—	50.000
Rennes	60.000	—	40.000
Straſbourg	76.000	—	55.000
†Lille	70.000	—	48.000
Caen	50.000	—	40.000
Metz	42.000	—	33.000
Montpellier	40.000	—	30.000
Amiens	42.000	—	32.000
Orleans	40.000	—	30.000
Valenciennes	38.000	—	26.000
Total of theſe 16 Towns, 1ſt Jan. 1789.	1.951.000	1ſt July, 1796,	1.397.000

G. BRITAIN AND IRELAND.	1ſt July, 1796.
London, with Weſtminſter and Southwark	900.000
Dublin *(Ireland)*	170.000
Briſtol	86.000
Mancheſter	80.000
Cork *(Ireland)*	78.000
Norwich	80.000
Edinburgh (with Leith) *Scot.*	78.000
Liverpool	76.000
Birmingham	65.000
Exeter	42.000
Newcaſtle	50.000
Coventry	34.000
Glaſgow (with Port Glaſgow)	42.000
York	38.000
Leeds	43.000
Aberdeen, New & Old *(Scot.)*	34.000
Total of the above 16 Towns, 1ſt July, 1796	1.937.000

* Greatly enlarged, by extending the barriers, in 1788.

† Tranſient garriſons are not comprehended in the population of fortified towns; ſuch as Lille, Metz, Landau, &c.

FRANCE.	1ſt Jan. 1789.		1ſt July, 1796.
Montauban	28.000	—	20.000
Niſmes	30.000	—	22.000
Beſançon	38.000	—	30.000
*Verſailles	36.000	—	18.000
Grenobie	32.000	—	25.000
Rheims	32.000	—	24.000
Tours	30.000	—	23.000
Narbonne	28.000	—	20.000
†Nancy	28.000	—	18.000
Abbéville	28.000	—	20.000
Dunkerque	26.000	—	20.000
Troyes	24.000	—	18.000
Alençon	25.000	—	18.000
Limoges	24.000	—	20.000
‡Aix (en Provence)	22.000	—	15.000
Angers	23.000	—	18.000
Total of theſe 16 Towns, 1ſt Jan. 1789,	454.000	1ſt July, 1796,	329.000

G. BRITAIN AND IRELAND.	1ſt July, 1796.
Sheffield	33.000
Nottingham	27.000
Halliſax	30.000
Limerick *(Ireland)*	32.000
Waterford *(Ditto)*	30.000
Hull	32.000
Kilkenny *(Ireland)*	27.000
Glouceſter	23.000
Oxford	16.000
Wakefield	36.000
Bath	20.000
Cambridge	11.000
Durham	20.000
Worceſter	24.000
Cheſter	19.000
Paiſley *(Scotland)*	18.000
Total of the above 16 Towns, 1ſt July 1796,	400.000

* Verſailles, including the Palace, has *occaſionally* lodged above 80,000, of which one half, at leaſt, having a domicil at *Paris*, are in the *cenſus* of that city.

† This town was conſiderably reduced during the *three* firſt years of the Revolution.

‡ Heretofore a Parliament-town; and has ſuffered much in its population.

CITIES AND TOWNS OF FRANCE.	1ſt Jan. 1789.		1ſt July, 1796.
Arles	20.000	—	14.000
*Breſt (avec la Recouvrance)	25.000	—	17.000
Dieppe (et le Pollet)	22.000	—	15.000
Dijon	22.000	—	16.000
Clermont (en Auvergne)	23.000	—	18.000
Soiſſons	21.000	—	17.000
Sedan	20.000	—	15.000
†St. Malo (avec St. Servan)	18.000	—	12.000
Perpignan	22.000	—	15.000
La Rochelle	22.000	—	16.000
Poictiers	22.000	—	14.000
Mans	18.000	—	14.000
Havre-de-Grace	20.000	—	13.000
Chalons, ſur Marne	18.000	—	12.000
Douay	16.000	—	11.000
Bayonne	20.000	—	12.000
Total of the above 16 Towns of France 1ſt Jan. 1789,	329.000	1ſt July, 1796,	231.000

CITIES AND TOWNS OF G. BRITAIN AND IRELAND.	1ſt July, 1796.
Wolverhampton	18.000
Reading	16.000
Belfaſt	22.000
Kendal	15.000
Londonderry *(Ireland)*	20.000
Galway	20.000
*Portſmouth (with Goſport)	20.000
*Plymouth (with Dock and Stone-houſe)	24.000
Rocheſter (with Stroud and Chatham)	18.000
Canterbury	18.000
Ipſwich	15.000
Shrewſbury	17.000
Lynn	18.000
Bury	17.000
Maidſtone	16.000
Saliſbury	16.000
Total of the above 16 Towns of Great Britain and Ireland, 1ſt July, 1796,	293.000

* Mariners who are ſerving on board the ſhips, and without any reſidence in theſe ſea-port towns, are not included.

† One of the beſt-peopled towns in France, for the compaſs of ground it occupies

CITIES

CITIES AND TOWNS OF FRANCE.	1st Jan. 1789.		1st July, 1796.
Arras	15.000	—	10.000
Blois	14.000	—	10.000
Calais	12.000	—	8.000
Cambrai	12.000	—	9.000
Chartres	12.000	—	8.000
Compiegne	11.000	—	6.000
*Beauvais	15.000	—	10.000
†Elbeuf	15.000	—	12.000
Langres	13.000	—	10.000
‡Louviers	15.000	—	8.000
Fecamp	13.000	—	9.000
Peronne	15.000	—	11.000
Moulins	18.000	—	13.000
Toulon	15.000	—	8.000
Auxerre	14.000	—	10.000
Port Louis (with Port l'Orient)	13.000	—	8.000
Total of these 16 Towns of France, 1st Jan. 1789,	220.000	1st July, 1796,	150.000

CITIES AND TOWNS OF G. BRITAIN AND IRELAND.	1st July, 1796.
Leiceſter	12.000
Lincoln	11.000
Carliſle	9.000
Derby	11.000
Berwick	12.000
Wincheſter	13.000
Whitehaven	14.000
Dumfries	10.000
Perth	11.000
Lancaſter	13.000
Drogheda	10.000
Inverneſs	13.000
Colcheſter	14.000
Aylesbury	12.000
Pool	13.000
Nantwich	11.000
Total of the above 16 Towns, 1st July, 1796,	188.000

* This was formerly a populous manufacturing town.
† The fabrics here, being for coarſe cloths, are ſtill in activity.
‡ The cloths of Louviers are (like thoſe made at Abbeville) of a *ſuperior* quality, and not much in demand ſince the Revolution.

CITIES AND TOWNS OF FRANCE.	1st Jan. 1789.		1st July, 1796.
Liſieux	9.000	—	6.000
Colmar	10.000	—	7.000
Carpentras	8.000	—	5.000
Rochefort	12.000	—	8.000
Saumur	9.000	—	6.000
*Pau	12.000	—	9.000
Valence	8.000	—	5.000
Vienne	9.000	—	6.000
Bar-le-Duc	8.000	—	5.000
Cahors	8.000	—	5.000
†La Val	9.000	—	5.000
Nevers	7.000	—	5.000
Landau	9.000	—	6.000
Sens	11.000	—	8.000
Carcaſonne	9.000	—	6.000
Toul	8.000	—	5.000
Tot. of the above 16 Towns of France, 1st Jan. 1789,	146.000	1st July, 1796,	97.000

CITIES AND TOWNS OF G. BRITAIN AND IRELAND.	1st July, 1796.
Greenock	9.000
Kinſale	10.000
Hereford	10.000
Scarborough	8,000
Swanſea	8.000
Wexford	11.000
Dover	8.000
Preſton	9.000
Stamford	11.000
Bedford	12.000
Sunderland	9.000
Northampton	10.000
‡Boſton	10.000
Hertford	8.000
Taunton	13.000
North Shields	9.000
Total of the above 16 Towns of Gt. Britain, &c. 1st July, 1796,	156.000

* The capital of Bearne; and, though ſmall, is very well inhabited.
† The war of the *Vendée* has been peculiarly fatal to this town.
‡ Greatly improved in its trade and population, within the laſt ſeven years.

TWENTY

TWENTY CITIES AND TOWNS OF FRANCE.	1st Jan. 1789.		1st July, 1796.
(*)Niort	7.000	—	5.000
Beziers	9.000	—	5.000
Verdun	7.000	—	5.000
(*)St. Pol-de-Leon	8.000	—	5.000
Vendome	8.000	—	5.000
Bourges	12.000	—	9.000
Rodez	7.000	—	5.000
(*)Coutances	6.000	—	4.000
St. Omer	10.000	—	6.000
Turaſcon	7.000	—	5.000
Meaux	10.000	—	7.000
(*)Saintes	7.000	—	4.000
(*)Dinan	8.000	—	5.000
Montargis	6.000	—	4.000
Argentan	9.000	—	6.000
Chalons-ſur-Saone	7.000	—	4.000
Orange	8.000	—	5.000
Veſoul	8.000	—	6.000
Autun	6.000	—	4.000
(*)Mayenne	7.000	—	4.000
Tot. of the above 20 Towns of France, 1ſt Jan. 1789,	137.000	1ſt July, 1796,	106.000

TWENTY CITIES AND TOWNS OF G. BRITAIN & IRELAND.	1st July, 1796.
Frome	11.000
Litchfield	7.000
Blandford	7.000
Shepton Mallet	9.000
†Deptford	12.000
Bridgnorth	8.000
Beverley	7.000
Doncaſter	6.000
Southampton	8.000
Newark on Trent	8.000
Tiverton	9.000
Lewes	8.000
Dorcheſter	8.000
Wigan	7.000
Whitby	8.000
Falmouth	7.000
Sherburn	7.000
Grantham	7.000
South Shields	7.000
Walſal	8.000
Tot. of the above 20 Towns of G. Britain & Ireland, 1ſt July, 1796,	159.000

[The towns marked thus (*) have loſt near *one-third* of their population ſince the beginning of 1793, being ſituated in the midſt of the provinces in revolt.]

The foregoing columns preſent to our readers a liſt of *One Hundred* cities and towns of FRANCE, compared with as many cities and towns of Great Britain and Ireland: the former are computed, upon the faireſt inveſtigation, at two diſtinct periods, *viz.* at the beginning of the Revolution (ſeven years ſince) and at the preſent day. Their number of inhabitants, in the total, ſtands thus:

	1ſt Jan. 1789.		1ſt July, 1796.		1ſt July, 1796
100 French Cities and Towns	3.253.000	—	2.307.000	100 Cities and Towns of Gr. Britain & Ireland	3.156.000

* Theſe towns has ſuffered extremely during the Revolution.
† Here are about 2000 houſes, without including the King's dock-yard.

PARIS has been much enlarged in its circuit, during the laſt eight years, by taking within its barrier, Chaillot to the Weſt, and ſeveral villages towards the South-weſt and South.

The calculations upon its number of inhabitants, which have from time to time been publiſhed by many literary authorities, differ in an unaccountable degree.—The Marquis de Buffon reckoned them, 25 years ago, no more than 700.000. He found that the births and burials had long been at an equilibrium; that the Mortuary Extracts gave 24.000 perſons in 1740, and in 1709 had amounted to 30.000. He adds, that both the winters of 1709 and 1740 were remarkably ſevere.

Now, the inhabitants of Paris were certainly fewer in 1709 than in 1771, by at leaſt one hundred thouſand; of courſe, one of twenty muſt have died in 1709. An extraordinary mortality indeed! if another ſuppoſition of that celebrated naturaliſt be juſt, that "the life of man may be "eſtimated at 33 years."

Monſ. Moreau agrees nearly with Buffon, as to the population of Paris.

L'Abbé D'Expilly (of whom we ſhall take due notice hereafter) does not allow ſo many; while Mercier, a writer deſervedly in great credit, and ſtill living, contends, in his *Tableau de Paris* (vol. 4 & 8.) that Paris contained near 900.000 ſouls in the year 1782.

Some

Some extravagant journaliſts, when a decreaſe rapidly began, in 1790, carried its number beyond one million. Certain it is, the inhabitants, in September, 1795, did not exceed 600.000, as was proved by the conſumption of bread and flour, daily reported, by the municipal officers, to Government. Nor is ſuch a reduction to be wondered at, when we reflect on the bloody ſcenes repeatedly exhibited in the ſtreets of Paris, and the immenſe draughts made, under the Jacobin auſpices, for the armies of the Republic, which have ſo viſibly thinned the once-thronged Fauxbourgs of St. Marceau and St. Antoine.—We ſhall admit there is ſometimes a vaſt ſhew of people in the ſections called La Butte des Moulins, Le Pelletier, and that of the Thuilleries, and of Brutus, as well as one or two more ſections in the vicinity of the Palais Royal; but the extenſive quarter of *St. Germaine des pres* is almoſt a deſert; and take Paris upon the whole—a woeful and moſt deformed caricatura of its former majeſty and beauty, is its true picture.

The environs of Paris are not near ſo populous as the environs of London.—This is a fact too manifeſt for any doubt.

Lyon*.

As the ſplendor of this town, and its very exiſtence, have long been dependent on the luxury of the court and capital, and the verſatile nature of French taſte in objects of dreſs and furniture, its induſtrious inhabitants (of both ſexes) muſt have been completely ruined by the triumph of the Sans-culotte ſyſtem, without their additional misfortune from a civil war within its walls. The commodious and extenſive Quay, the grand Square, and moſt of the magnificent edifices, are in heaps of ruin.

Collot d'Herbois, during the year 1793, and in the ſpring of 1794, having a powerful aſcendancy in the *Committé de Salut Public*, of which he was a member, took ſpecial care, upon the unſucceſsful revolt of the Lyonnois in favor of the Girondins, that they ſhould be butchered without mercy. He had them ſhot, *en maſſe*, and ſent thouſands of dead carcaſes floating down the Rhone into the Mediterranean Sea.—Collot was originally a ſtage-player, and a very indifferent one: he conceited, however, that the audience at Lyons had not paid a proper regard to his profeſſional talents, and therefore bore a rooted enmity to the place.—He has eſcaped the guillotine, and now lives, in exile, at Cayenne, in America.—Upon the execution

* The cities of France are ſpelt conformably to the French orthography.

of *Robeſpierre*, together with *St. Juſt* and *Couthon*, the general voice of the people called aloud for the ſame puniſhment to be inflicted, without delay, on *three* others of the late infernal Committee. Among a variety of publications on the ſubject, in proſe and in verſe, the following *jeu d'eſprit* appeared (in the Journal of Paris) 12th Thermidor, 1ſt year of the Republic:

BULLETIN FROM THE RIVER STYX.

When Robeſpierre thus old Charon addreſs'd,
" Here, take half this Louis, and hand me the reſt!"
" The reſt!" quoth the boatman, " 'tis only my fare!
" I wait for Collot, Billaud, and Barrere."

BOURDEAUX,

For foreign and colonial commerce, the moſt conſiderable city of France. Some time prior to the dethronement of Louis XVI, ſhe was made experimentally ſenſible of the miſchief reſulting from doctrines promulgated by the Abbé Grégoire and other *ſoi-diſant* philanthropiſts, both through Europe and America, in favor of an unqualified liberty and equality; the firſt fruits of which were a revolt of the ſlaves at St. Domingo, a moſt opulent iſland, to which Bourdeaux ſent annually two hundred ſquare-rigged veſſels. A formidable body of people belonging to this town and neighbourhood eſpouſed, in 1793, that party in the National Convention of which the Repreſentatives for the departments of the *Gironde* were the principal

cipal leaders. The population of Bourdeaux has been much reduced; yet her calamities fall far ſhort of thoſe experienced by *Nantes*, which being no capital of a province, nor the ſeat of a parliament, nor reſort of the *haute nobleſſe*, was entirely devoted to trade; and, by an almoſt unexampled induſtry, had gained abundant wealth. No place, excepting Bourdeaux, traded with ſo many ſhips to the French Weſt-Indies. From the riſe of the *Notables* to the extinction of the *Propagande*, ſhe ſupplied the Revolution with a number of zealous Clubbiſts, anxious (as they profeſſed themſelves) for a reaſonable reform of thoſe abuſes that had ever prevailed under an unlimited king. A proconſular tyranny, which ſucceeded, and gained ſtrength by municipal diſcord, ſoon filled the magazines of this great city with blood, in lieu of merchandize.—Moſt people have read, or heard related, the peculiar ſufferings of Nantes, by fire, ſword, famine, and a peſtilential malady ariſing from the unſepultured carcaſes of her murdered citizens. Ages to come muſt regard with horror the novel piece of cruelty invented by Carrier, and called by him a Republican Chriſtening:—men and women, bound cloſe together by pairs, body to body, and afterwards drowned. Hundreds of priſoners were for this ceremony conveyed aboard hulks floating near the entrance of the port, and, upon a ſignal given by Carrier and his myrmidons, a *ſous-pape*

(or ſcuttle) was opened under the water-line, and all on board were ſure to periſh: for a few, who by ſtruggling roſe again to the ſurface, were inſtantly diſpatched with pikes or clubs.—The monſter, after the death of his maſter, Robeſpierre, and fall of the Jacobins, paid (at the age of twenty-ſeven) the forfeit due to his crimes, and was guillotined at Nantes.

Orleans

Poſſeſſed a very extenſive and proſperous internal trade, and manufactured every year near 30,000 tons of Muſcavado ſugar, with which article ſhe ſupplied the central provinces of France, giving employ to fifteen large refineries, including three in the ſuburbs. The royal demeſnes in theſe parts were conſiderable, as were alſo thoſe of the clergy. By emigration and civil broils, the number of inhabitants has been greatly reduced. The genius of the renowned *Jeanne d'Arc (Pucelle d'Orleans)* whoſe image ſtands in the High-ſtreet, ſeems to have inſpired thouſands in the Orleannois with a zeal for loyalty, and the worſhip of their fore-fathers.

While the new reformers have elſewhere deprived the votaries to the Chriſtian Goſpel of their inheritance, they have *here* confiſcated that of the Founder of the Goſpel himſelf.—In the ſee of Orleans has been veſted, from earlieſt time, the extraordinary honor of having *Jeſus Chriſt*

Chriſt one of its Prebendaries; his name, as ſuch, was always on the roll of the chapter, and a ſtall appropriated to him in the cathedral church.

Public executions, in every mode, have been frequent in this town during the laſt two years, as well as at Saumur, Angers, and all the fertile and populous country which ranges along the Loire, to the extent of above 100 leagues.

Amiens

Was rich, and well peopled, before the Revolution: manufactures, and trade, nearly the ſame* as thoſe of Norwich, in Great Britain. Her places of public worſhip have been generally deſpoiled; but the venerable cathedral, which is eſteemed a maſter-piece of Gothic architecture, (eſpecially the nave) preſerves its former ſtate, a few mutilated figures in alto-relievo, within the ſide-ailes, excepted; and ſome monumental tablets, which bearing in their ſculpture armorial 'ſcutcheons, or coronets, provoked the deſtructive wrath of the *Sans Culottes*†.

Amiens would probably have ſuffered to a much greater extent than is actually the caſe, if the Capuchin monk, Chabot, had returned again, after his firſt ill-omen'd miſſion (in 1793) to the department of the Saome, to accompliſh his

* Woollen ſtuffs and crapes, hoſiery, &c.

† This remark is applicable to almoſt every church and cemetery, in France.

anathemas,

anathemas, and ſatiate his fury; but he unexpectedly choſe the bands of wedlock with a German woman, and being ſoon after accuſed, by ſome popular ſocieties, of embezzling the national property, and receiving bribes from Vienna, to attempt a counter-revolution, he was committed to the Luxemburg, where he took poiſon. An emetic, forcibly adminiſtered by a ſurgeon for the priſons, prevented the intended effect, and he was led to the fatal inſtrument, under which he had helped to bow the necks of ſo many others, for their adherence to thoſe laws and rites, and to that king and that conſtitution, for which he had, in the outſet of his political career, plighted his ſpiritual and temporal allegiance. On the wall of the chamber, where he was confined, he wrote with a pencil, and dated on the day, he ſwallowed his doſe of arſenic, this diſtich:

" Quand on a tout perdu, & on eſt ſans eſpoir,
" La vie eſt un opprobre, la mort eſt un devoir*."

ROUEN

Was, of all the cities in France, heretofore acknowledged the moſt prone to diſturbance, and the mobs peculiarly dreadful. Her population is ſomewhat decreaſed by inteſtine commotions, as well as by various other cauſes, but not in ſo

* " When all is loſt—not even hope is left,
" Our life is a reproach, and death a duty."

great

great a degree as might have been apprehended. Her trade, which, from an advantageous natural poſition, on the banks of the Seine, muſt ever have an intimate connection with that of the metropolis, has much declined; and, in its valuable foreign branches, is for the preſent totally loſt.

Havre-de-Grace,

A town of but little conſideration eighty years ago, was, under the auſpices of Rouen, and as aſſociated with that city, progreſſively taking large ſtrides in the line of commerce, and to every direction of the compaſs, when the Revolution began. She had extenſive dealings in Africa, and with the Iſle of Bourbon, as well as with the colony of Martinico, and with Cape François, Port-au-Prince (in Hiſpaniola) &c.—Few places have found ſo much cauſe to reprobate the *levelling* zeal of thoſe fanatics who firſt diſſeminated ſeeds of rebellion among the Negroes and people of colour, on the other ſide the Atlantic Ocean, by way of prelude to their more important deſigns againſt the peace and harmony of all the flouriſhing ſtates of Chriſtendom.

Caen,

The ſecond city of Normandy, has been kept, during three years, in an unintermitting agitation; being near to the centre of the weſtern depart-

ments,

ments, many illuſtrious families formerly reſided here, and in the neighbourhood.—We may be allowed to pay a juſt tribute of reſpect to that of the *Duke d'Harcourt*, as eminently diſtinguiſhed for complacency of manners, as luſtre of deſcent. This nobleman (now ſtripped of his property, and a fugitive in Great Britain) governed the province of Normandy with exemplary mildneſs and wiſdom. Multitudes of the poor, braving all perſonal riſk, have not yet ceaſed to teſtify an affectionate intereſt in his deſtiny. His ſuperior character fully juſtified the choice made of him by Louis XVI, to ſuperintend the education of the Dauphin, now commonly ſtyled Louis XVII, who died at the Temple in 1795; not by *violent* hands, as ſome have ſuſpected, though in conſequence of a long, unwholeſome, and rigorous confinement *.

POITIERS, LA ROCHELLE, ANGERS, ALANÇON,

Large and populous towns, which are likewiſe unhappily ſituated amidſt thoſe countries where the *Fleur de Lys* party, and the *Tricolor*, alternately maſters, and alternately murderers (and governed only by the ſavage laws of *Le plus fort*) authoriſed and enforced devaſtation in all quarters.

* The Marſhal Duke of Harcourt was alſo governor to the elder brother of this laſt unfortunate prince, who then bore the title of Duke of Normandy.

TOULOUSE,

Capital of Languedoc (the moſt productive province of France) admirably ſituated for trade, but which never ſuited the genius of its inhabitants; nor are they bleſſed with that ſpirit of manual and ingenious induſtry which does ſo much credit to the people of France in general, and to which they may at length perhaps owe (after many pangs and ſtruggles with the preſent contagious *épidemie*) a return to health and vigor.

Toulouſe was proud of her ſtately *nobleſſe*, an endleſs train of gentlemen of the long robe, and innumerable eccleſiaſtics: her population is of courſe much diminiſhed. Between five and ſix hundred nuns were at once dragged from their cloiſters, and turned looſe into a wide, diſtracted world: they were aſſigned, by the legiſlature, a *nominal* proviſion, but ſo piteouſly ſmall, that the ſtricteſt monaſtic abſtinence could never make it a *real* one*.

Catholic bigotry, which has poſſeſſed little aſcendency in France theſe 50 years laſt paſt, had, at the æra of the Revolution, its head-quarters in, and near this city: ſo that, upon the whole, we can be at no loſs to account for her calamities; nor for a formidable body of malcontents, who ſtill continue to excite very ſerious alarms and vigilance in the new government.

† The ſame hard lot has fallen on all the Religious, of either ſex, throughout the republic.

RENNES (in Britanny).

We may repeat, almoſt literally, the remarks juſt made on Toulouſe. Though capital of a much leſs fruitful territory, its prominent poſition, near the abodes and faſtneſſes of the *Chouans*, and not far from the *Vendée*, has expoſed this city to repeated maurauding, and to all the horrors of the moſt ferocious warfare.

It is a remarkable fact, that the Bretons, heretofore ſo clamorous for freedom, and who gave more inquietude to the adminiſtrations of Louis the XIVth, and Louis the XVth, than the reſt of the monarchy put together, have furniſhed a numerous and heroic ſucceſſion of combattants to the ſtandards diſplayed by *Charette* and *Stofflet*, and have actually ſtood, *almoſt iſolated*, to ſhed the *laſt* drop of their blood *in* the *laſt dyke* of the old conſtitution.

ARRAS,

The chief city of Artois, gave birth to Robeſpierre, whoſe family reſided there, and was of low condition. Common report makes him a near relation to Damien, who attempted to aſſaſſinate Louis the XVth.—Robeſpierre complimented his native place with a choſen miſſionary, after his own heart, one *Joſeph Lebon*, a member of the Convention, and who had heretofore exerciſed the functions of a pariſh prieſt.

In

In his examples of ſeverity, he ſeems to have emulated the fame of *Carrier*, carrying deſtruction and terror into all quarters of the department over which he preſided. He has been charged by Freron (in a periodical publication, called *L'Ami du Peuple)* with an act of perfidy ſimilar to that which ſome Engliſh hiſtorians tell of Colonel Kirk, under King James II. He forgave the huſband of a beautiful young perſon, upon condition of *certain favors*, which having received, he recalled his pardon, and put the man to death.

It was proved on Lebon's trial, at Amiens (for having abuſed his powers) and which happened after the downfall of Jacobin tyranny, that the guillotine had, by his order, been erected oppoſite the façade of the public theatre, in Arras, where he could indulge himſelf, from a balcony, with obſerving and rallying his victims, as they were led forth to ſlaughter. He more than once took a newſpaper from his pocket, and ſuſpended the fall of the knife till he had read aloud, with a ſardonic ſneer, ſelect exploits of the Republicans on the frontiers, to ſome poor condemned Royaliſt, whom he charged to carry the news to the deceaſed King, and thoſe friends who had already been ſent before him to the other world. An inward compunction, which, like the vulture of Prometheus, could not fail to ſeize upon the ſoul of ſuch a wretch, when finally cloſing his

accompt in this life, at length deprived him of that firm reſolution which he had uniformly ſhown while in preſence of the judges. He was guillotined in the month of September, 1795, aged 26; and the executioner of Arras, and his valets, who had been expreſsly ſent for to perform this laſt ſervice to their patron and comrade, were obliged to ſupport his trembling limbs on mounting the ſcaffold.

St. Malo.

This ſmall, but important, maritime town has, ſince 1793 (incluſive) experienced an ample portion of wretchedneſs; its moſt reſpectable inhabitants—either emigrated, or ſacrificed to Jacobiniſm.

The merchants of St. Malo were unequalled in France for ſimplicity of manners, and frugality:—their accumulated ſavings prodigious; ſo that, when a needy peer of the realm wiſhed to repair his ſhattered finances, it was uſual to negociate a marriage for himſelf, or eldeſt ſon, with ſome *Malouine* heireſs, and condeſcend to intermix his rich patrician blood with her's, by way of barter for a more ſubſtantial opulence in tangible caſh.—The acknowledged wealth of many individuals in this happy community offered a tempting lure to the Terroriſts whom Robeſpierre and Barrere had attached to their faction, by a *carte-blanche* for arreſtations and forfeitures.

Marseille.

Theſe natives of the South have always been diſtinguiſhed for a warm temperament: they took a daring lead at the commencement of the Revolution, and gave life to that diviſion of the National Convention commonly called *The Mountain*.—In the verſatile ſtate of affairs, which has thrice changed the conſtitution of France in a ſpace of four years, no town has had a more perturbed part: few have been greater ſufferers. —The choiceſt bleſſing that Providence can beſtow on mankind, is civilized liberty; but a wild and immoral liberty is her bittereſt curſe: its votaries are almoſt ſure, ſooner or later, to be made its victims.

Champions of the *Bonnet-rouge*, a formidable banditti from Marſeille, ſet out for Paris with ſuch principles as, by popular fermentation on the road, became more intoxicating to the brain than the ſtrongeſt diſtilled liquors. Their march was led by a *tintamarre* of drums, fifes, cymbals, and auxiliary vocal choruſſes.—It is ſaid by ancient authors, that the power of muſic raiſed up the walls of Thebes, and other great cities: our modern annals may inform poſterity, that the walls of Maeſtrick, Landrecy, &c. fell before a hymn, called *Le Marſellois*. Certain it is, *that* animating war-ſong has been as an hoſt againſt the enemy, and done wonders on a day of battle.

Marſeille

Marſeille reſolutely oppoſed the aſpiring ambition of Julius Cæſar, who found that, many hundred years before his time, it had flouriſhed as an independent republic: and ſo remarkable did it become, under the ſucceeding Roman Emperors, for its debauchery and profligacy of character, that "The Manners of the *Maſſilei*" (their name in Latin) was a proverb*.

Enterpriſing, and celebrated for their commercial undertakings, they have been ever not leſs ſo for religion and politics. They travelled farther from home, ſix centuries ago, and with as much perſonal riſk, to ſet up the croſs of Chriſt in Paleſtine, as they have lately done to pull it down in Paris; and fought with equal ardor to place a crown on the head of a foreign uſurper at Jeruſalem†, as to tear it from the brows of their own legitimate ſovereign at his palace of Verſailles. The whole of their hiſtory preſents the bold and extravagant characteriſtics of cruſaders.

A deciſive victory, gained by Carteaux, in 1793, over the adherents to the conſtitution of 1791, near the heights of this town, and the accuſations and executions which were the conſequence, under three deputies in miſſion to *Provence* (all of them Jacobins) went near to throw it into the

* See Atheneus.

† La Vie de Philippe Auguſte, Roi de France. Hiſtoire des Croiſades, dans le onzième & douzième ſiécles.

hands of the combined ſquadrons, who then hovered in the offing. It was the event of that combat, and dread of ſimilar puniſhments, which made the people of Toulon, who had alſo deeply embarked with the vanquiſhed party, no longer heſitate about opening their port to Lord Hood. —An old mariner, ſtanding on the quay at Marſeille, one evening in April laſt, was queſtioned by a ſtranger concerning the plague which broke out there in the reign of Louis XV. "I was," he replied, "a child at that time; yet I remember it well. There was great mortality, and trade long at a ſtand: it did us a terrible deal of harm. Dare I add," ſaid he, fetching a ſigh, and with an emphatic tone of voice, "*almoſt* as much as the preſent *glorious* Revolution?"

Toulon.

The ſingular conduct of this town—the ſtrange events—the ſad cataſtrophe that has befallen it, might furniſh a long and an intereſting tragedy apart. Like Marſeilles, from the earlieſt epoch of the Revolution it has been involved in perpetual contention and uproar. A great body of its inhabitants attached themſelves, during the ſummer of 1793, to the Federaliſts; towards the end of which year it remained Five Months under the abſolute dominion of the Engliſh, the

Spaniards

Spaniards being, in fact, nothing more than idle ſpectators.—Contiguous to the Sardinian territories, and to the Milaneſe, three days' ſail (or thereabout) from Naples, and not farther diſtant from Catalonia, where the *élite* of the Catholic King's troops lay quartered, it was perhaps the moſt favorable ſpot on the whole continent of Europe for concentring the main ſtrength of the allies: they might have collected, and eaſily maintained (being maſters at ſea) ſuch an army as to ſet the utmoſt exertions of the regicides, tremendous as they appeared, at defiance.—The Britiſh admiral unadviſedly engaged his country to reſtore the conſtitution of 1791. This ſtep had an inſtant and fatal effect on the confederate powers, whoſe league of Plenitz, irreſiſtible on paper as the famous league of Cambrai (in the days of Charles VIII) became, equally with that, palſied in its operations, and innoxious to the foe in the iſſue.—It has been our diſaſtrous policy, throughout the preſent war, to fly from every vulnerable poſt belonging to the enemy, in order to aſſail him where he would moſt deſire to be attacked—in remote tropical dependences, where the climate is ſure to avenge his loſſes—or on his iron-bound and impregnable frontiers. The Republicans, with all their repeated embarraſſment, have never been in ſo much danger of a counter-revolution, as when Toulon was in

our

our hands; and they openly confeſſed it*. This can be proved from the correſpondence of the Committee of Public Safety with the younger Robeſpierre, Salicetti, &c.† who were charged with the critical miſſion to *Provence*, in the winter of 1793; and alſo by a memorial of Dubois Crancé, relative to the inſurrection at Lyons; and by evidence on the tryal, at Paris, of General Kellerman, in the autumn of 1794, who, by his talents, and ſucceſſes, though with inferior force, againſt the revolters, and againſt the Sardinian army, on the mountains of Savoy, averted, *for a ſecond time*, impending ruin from the ſtate to which (however raſhly) he had vowed allegiance ‡.

Diſtreſs,

* "Tout le Midi eſt gangréné." See Maximil. Robeſpierre's Speech in the Convention, Auguſt 26, 1793.

Surely an impolitic confidence was placed in the honor of ſuch a Government, and under ſuch extraordinary circumſtances, when Lord Hood, to acquit himſelf of his engagement for diſmaſſing the mal-contents, ſent four men of war of the line from Toulon to Rochefort.

† Levant winds uſually prevail with dreadful violence, in the Gulf of Lyon, during the month of December.—Had one of theſe ſet in, when we were making our eſcape from Toulon, not a ſhip could have been brought out of the harbour, nor a boat have taken men on board from the beach.

‡ Kellerman certainly ſaved the Republic, when he triumphed, on the borders of Champaign, over the Duke of Brunſwick. He is a gentleman of hereditary property in Alſace, and of *Scottiſh* deſcent, the original name of his family being Kilderman, or Kildaman. He diſtinguiſhed himſelf heretofore, when a field-officer in Poland; and before the French Revolution ranked as a major-general, and had the great croſs of St. Louis. The ſignal ingratitude towards him, of the late miniſters, aroſe from the nature of his diſpoſition, which could never ſuffer him to come up to what the Jacobins ſtyled "*The Height of Circumſtances*" (*L'Hauteur des Circonſtances*).—At the head of a victorious and zealouſly-attached army, he was put under arreſt, while dining, by invitation, on neutral ground, at Geneva, October, 1793, and choſe, againſt the earneſt ſupplications of the whole ſtaff, and numerous friends around him,

Diſtreſs, diſorganization*, and rage, are to be ſeen throughout all the departments of the South. *Their* loſſes made the army in Lombardy. Neceſſity and deſperation have ſent thouſands, and ſcores of thouſands, to the banners of Buonaparte. —"*Want* (ſays Barras) *has made them brave*†." Let us not rob them of the laurels which are juſtly due to *ſuch* valor. They are of the ſame complexion as the laureis heretofore reaped by an hord of ruffians who accompanied Barbaroſſa, the famous African pirate, to the ſhores of Italy, far different from the laurels earned by a humane and generous band of warriors, who paſſed over the Alps, from France, under a Villars, and a Turenne!

to ſubmit to the order, ſigned by Robeſpierre, together with ſome of his infamous colleagues, at the Committee of Public Safety.—Kellerman was kept in rigorous impriſonment near a twelvemonth; and had not the 10th of Thermidor reverſed the ruling ſyſtem of Government, he would, no doubt, have gone from his trial to the guillotine, in lieu of the command in chief over another formidable army. He was of courſe moſt honorably acquitted by the new Tribunal.—This officer illuſtrates a juſt remark, that the brighteſt examples of martial gallantry uſually take the lead in charitable and liberal acts. His generoſity is equal to his bravery; for, while he was in confinement, he ſought out, though with the greateſt perſonal danger, others, more indigent ſufferers, to ſolace and relieve them with his purſe. No ſooner was he releaſed, than he became indefatigable in procuring liberty for a number of innocent priſoners, and found exquiſite pleaſure in going himſelf into dungeons, to unrivet their chains, regardleſs of all narrow partialities of nation, or of party, and governed only in his kindneſs by a meaſure of diſtreſs. This is known, and has been experienced, by many of our countrymen. A gentleman, and his wife, who bear one of the firſt names in England, and the moſt hoſtile to France, declare, that to Kellerman's beneficence and well-timed ſuccours, clandeſtinely conveyed, while ſhut up, *au ſecrèt*, ſick and famiſhed, they owe their preſent exiſtence.

* Maſſacres and rapine are however perfectly organized, according to what the Directory has lately declared to the Council of Five Hundred.

† This *Hounſlow-heath* kind of courage the Preſident of the Directory gives to the patriotic troops, in a formal report made to the Legiſlature, December, 1796, on the actual ſtate of the Republic.

VERSAILLES

VERSAILLES,

Created, foſtered, nouriſhed by Royalty, in being an active and voluntary inſtrument to effect the Revolution, was guilty of the crime technically termed *Felo de ſe*, and is returning to the ſame inſignificance in which Louis XIV found it a hundred years ago, when that monarch ſelected ſo inauſpicious a ſpot for the moſt ſuperb ſtructure in the world. The palace is not materially injured*. The water-works, and five or ſix marble ſtatues in the park, have been damaged, but not ſo many as at *Marli*, a league diſtant, where ſeveral valuable antique figures, and admired productions from the modern chiſel of Coſtou, and of Puget, have received no quarter. The blight of Gothic invaſion was not more deſtructive to the arts and ſciences than the fumes of Revolutionary Committees. The Hun, or the Vandal, in laying waſte an enemy's poſſeſſions, had no idea of ſparing any model of refined taſte; but it was reſerved for a *Jacobin* and a *Cordelier*, born in a civilized age, and in the moſt poliſhed nation of the univerſe, to lift a ſavage hand againſt the pride of his own country, and glory in the demolition of every thing that might improve or decorate human life. That aſtoniſhing piece of mechaniſm called *The Ma-*

* It was ſuggeſted to the people, more than once, "that this palace would at length be choſen for the legiſlative repreſentation; and it was on that account it ought to be ſaved.

chine of Marli, which ſupplied water through conduits, of many miles extent, to the king's gardens and all the upper diſtricts, has been taken to pieces by order of government, and ſold for the value of the iron.—It is with inexpreſſible concern we obſerve ſtill greater havoc made at *Chantilly**, the well-known enchanting reſidence of the Prince of *Condé*. In the month of April, 1793, a ſale of moveables was ordered by certain commiſſaries, under the adminiſtration at Paris, who repaired thither, attended by a numerous Sans-culotte rabble. There were very few perſons preſent, of a better claſs. The furniture, &c. was diſpoſed of, as was pretended, for the benefit of the nation. Little other change at that time took place, except rudely defacing, within and without the chateau, various heraldic inſignia, and mounting inſtead, in twenty different places, a cap of liberty, and triple-colored Roman faſces, with a label, on which was inſcribed "*Egalité ou la Mort*" (Equality or Death).—Six months after, a column of the *Armée Revolutionaire* was ſtationed at Chantilly, and completed its ruin. The walls of the orangery, temples, pavillions, &c. were broken down; and the caſcades and fountains torn up, to gain a few pounds of lead, which were ſoon bartered at a dram-ſhop, for tobacco and brandy.

* There is a faint deſcription of this ſcene to be found in *Venice preſerved*, a tragedy, by Otway.

One

One might ſuppoſe that, among many other leſſons from the Heathens, they had learned that ſuch beings exiſt in foreſts, and under parterres, as Hamadryads, and Gnomes; and theſe they diligently ſought after in their inmoſt receſſes, as accomplices with the Bourbons and Mountmorencies, to whoſe culture they owed their luxuriant foliage and floral beauty.

The miſeries ſuſtained by Lille, Valenciennes, and other fortified towns on the northern frontier, are univerſally known. Two of the eaſtern provinces, Lorrain and Alſace, impute their decreaſe in population chiefly to a contention of parties during 1791 and 1792, and ſince that period to emigration, and to boundleſs requiſitions for military recruits, pioneers, &c.—*Le Franche Comté* has furniſhed more volunteers to the armies of the republic than any part of France, of the ſame extent.

We ſhould hold it premature to notice in this account, *flagrante bello*, the conqueſts made by the French in Italy and Flanders: for the ſame reaſon we have not included *Avignon*, which during many centuries, and till the beginning of the revolution, was under the ſovereignty of the Pope.

To agree with the approved author of a late Survey of Derbyſhire, we ought to count only 9000 ſouls within the limits of the town of Derby.

Derby: we are convinced there are many thouſands beyond that number; beſides, the reader is already apprized that we have given ſome latitude to the *purlieus* of every city and town herein mentioned, as well of France as of Great Britain and Ireland. Hence it is that Halifax, in Yorkſhire, is allowed near double the amount of its internal population, literally underſtood.

Several other clothing towns in the Weſt Riding of Yorkſhire ſeem, perhaps, ſtated too high; for inſtance, Leeds, and Wakefield. Theſe have increaſed in population immenſely within the laſt ten years: ſo has *Mancheſter*, in the county of Lancaſter. We can ſcarce venture to decide, in poſitive terms, as to the ſuperiority of numbers in that town, compared with Norwich, Briſtol, or Cork (in Ireland). It is a queſtion naturally ſubject to ſome fluctuation, and neither poſſible, nor neceſſary to our general deſign, that we aſſume a very minute accuracy throughout the detail we have undertaken to exhibit: we are confident it will be found, *in ſubſtance*, both impartial and juſt, founded upon a cloſe and a deliberate inveſtigation, recently made by a perſon who has reſided a great number of years in France, and as many in Great Britain.

The following 75 towns of France (which we have compared with 75 in Great Britain and Ireland) contain from four to ſix thouſand inhabitants

bitants each, and average about 5000; the greater number of them having loſt, ſince January, 1789, near a fourth part of their population. We may venture to affirm, that ſcarce nine or ten cities or towns throughout the Republic, at the utmoſt, are omitted in this Liſt, and which reckon at the preſent day 5000 ſouls. We might probably find ſeven or eight more in the Britiſh iſles.

FRENCH. (5000 Inhabitants, one with the other, or upwards).	BRITISH & IRISH.
Maçon	Peterborough
Dole	Guildford
Gray	Richmond (in Surrey)
Boulogne ſur Mer	Chicheſter
St. Etienne	Warminſter
Pamiers (en Foix)	Deal
Agen	Penzance
Auch	Greenwich
Angoulême	Malden (Eſſex)
St. Maixant	Buckingham
Fontenai le Comté	Truro
Montreuil ſur Mer*	Honiton
Mende	Weymouth (& Melcombe)
Roye	Harwich
Cette	Barnſtable
Total 75.000 *Inhabitants.*	*Total* - 75.000

* In Picardy. The ſea, which is now three miles diſtant, flowed, heretofore, up to the walls of the town.

FRENCH,

FRENCH, (continued).		BRITISH & IRISH, (continued).	
Riom		Helſton	
Evreux		Fowey	
Mantes		Bridgewater	
Morlaix		Biddeford	
St. Brienne		Windſor	
Epinal		Stratford upon Avon	
Vernon		Youghill *(Ireland)*	
Giſors		Carrickfergus *(ditto)*	
Vannes		St. Andrew's *(Scotland)*	
Aumale		Haddington *(ditto)*	
Noyon		Dundee *(ditto)*	10.000
Beaumont		Launceſton	
Quimper		Kingſton (in Surrey)	
St. Germaine-en-Laye		Richmond (Yorkſhire)	
St. Quintin		Hammerſmith	
Bayeux		St. Alban's	
Avranches		Newport-pagnel	
St. Denis		Cirenceſter	
Vere		Yeovil	
Pontoiſe		Tamworth*	
Total -	100.000	*Total* -	100.000

* In Staffordſhire: a ſmall town; but, having a manufacture of woollen cloths, is fully inhabited.

FRENCH, continued.	BRITISH AND IRISH, continued.
St. Valery	Croydon
Montdidier	Kidderminſter
Luneville	Darlington
Vitré le François	Dartmouth
Bar (ſur l'Aube)	Gainſborough
Provins	Monmouth
Aurillac	Mansfield
Laon	Rippon
Riom	Newport (Iſle of Wight)
Semur	Abingdon
Chatillon	Stockton (on Tees)
Condom	Appleby
St. Stephen's	Warrington
Nemours	Stafford
Melun	Ludlow
Oleron	Newport (Shropſhire)
Iſſendun	Burton (upon Trent)
Chateauroux*	Loughborough
Chinon	Cheſterfield
Amboiſe†	Pontefract
Total - 100.000	*Total* - 100.000

* Here are a conſiderable number of cloth-manufacturers.

† Famous of late years for workmanſhip in ſteel, ſo as to rival Woodſtock; but this new attempt has been much diſcouraged ſince the Revolution.

FRENCH, continued.	BRITISH AND IRISH, continued.
Nogent (ſur Seine)	Wiſbech
Chateau-Gontier	Andover
Senlis	Caermarthen
Salins	Haverfordweſt
Villefranche (en Beaujolois*)	Spalding
Montelimar	Witney (Oxfordſhire)
Chaumont	Ware
Albi	Sterling *(Scotland)*
Tonnere	Kelſo *(ditto)*
Dreux†	Sligo *(Ireland)*
Mezieres	Newry *(ditto)*
Beleſme	Trim *(ditto)*
Tarbe	Caſhel *(ditto)*
Falaiſe	Mulingar *(ditto)*
Gournai	Dromore *(ditto)*
Beaucaire	Maldon (Yorkſhire)
Trevoux	Newcaſtle (under Line)
Rieux	Kidderminſter
Antibes	Huntingdon
Cognac	Bradford‡
Total - 100.000	*Total* - 100.000

* Founded by the Lord of Beaujou, about the year 1100; who, among ſeveral privileges deviſed to attract inhabitants, granted the very extraordinary one, that huſbands were to beat their wives as much as they pleaſed, and without being accountable for ſhedding blood, unleſs the wife ſhould die of the wounds.

† Dreux has a good manufacture for coarſe woollen cloths.

‡ This is a very populous and thriving town, in the county of York, with a great cloth manufactory. There is another Bradford, in Wiltſhire, which has likewiſe a flouriſhing trade, and ſtands in the centre of the moſt extenſive fabrics of ſuperfine cloths in England.

Having

Having now rendered it evident, that the ſuperior population of France cannot be found in her cities, nor large towns, are we to look for it in thoſe of leſſer account, and in villages? —Theſe, we affirm, are not of a more ample compaſs, nor more thickly ſpread over the face of the French dominions, than over the Britiſh iſles; and were, antecedently to the Revolution, only in proportion to the magnitude of that territory, which is near *one-third* larger than the united kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland: equal to 15.700 ſquare leagues againſt 11.000*. —But it may poſſibly be demanded, if, in a great portion, the inhabitants heretofore of towns and villages have not been induced, by political expediency, to transfer their abode to retired hamlets, or ſome inſulated retreat in the country; and, of courſe, ought ſtill to be comprehended in the general population of the empire?—Certain it is, immenſe flights have ſought, in alien climes, an aſylum from proſcriptions and aſſaſſination: the major part, however, of thoſe

* Monſieur Neckar makes a groſs and palpable miſtake, in giving to France twenty-nine thouſand ſquare leagues. Other writers of note (and even Mercier) have fallen into a ſimilar error. A ſchool-boy, who will take the pains to look at a correct chart, may in five minutes convince himſelf that its ſurface is little more than equal to ſeven degrees of latitude (viz. 43 North to 50) and eight degrees of longitude (viz. 2 Weſt and 6 Eaſt of the meridian of London); a degree of latitude being twenty geometrical leagues, and thoſe of longitude, at this diſtance from the equator, only 13 to 15 leagues. It is eaſy to multiply the medium ſum of one by the other, and the amount will be under 15.700 ſquare leagues, and leſs than 18.000 common leagues of England or France.

miſſing, are gone to "*that country from whoſe bourn no traveller returns.*"

Citizen Prory officially reported to the Directory, and Council of Five Hundred, in March, 1795, the actual population of the Republic, after all its prodigal expenditure of men, at 25.600.000. The editor of one of the Paris Journals, who has printed the Report, adds this ſhort comment, "*Quelle extravagance!*" Another journaliſt, ſtill more à-propos, exclaims "*Quelle effronterie!**" — No authority in the French language can be produced, of a date *prior to the Revolution*, for a number exceeding 21.000.000, three to four hundred thouſand foreigners incluſive. The author of an amended edition of *Le Dictionaire Géographique*, publiſhed at Paris, in 1782, admits *that* number. Monſieur de Voltaire, in a letter, written a few months before his deceaſe, to a member of the Academy of Berlin, ſays "*On prétende que nous avons actuellement en France, 21 millions d'habitans*†." Le Mercier, a man in great eſteem, and high in literary reputation, computed them, in 1780, between nineteen and twenty millions‡;

* On convening *Les Aſſemblées Primaires*, for the electing one-third of the Repreſentatives of the People, in Auguſt 1795, ſome Members of the Houſe complained that in many departments of the Republic one half of the voters *expected* had not come to the poll. The fact is, they were pleaſed to *expect* thoſe who did not exiſt.

† "Twenty-one million of inhabitants are preſumed to be at this time in the kingdom of France."—VOLTAIRE.

‡ See his *Tableau de Paris*, printed in 1780.

and

and the Marquis de Mirabeau, a ſacred oracle with the Conſtituent Aſſembly, and idol of the populace, would not allow, in 1778, more than eighteen millions in all the kingdom*. That celebrated and daſhing *Swiſs* calculator, Monſ. Neckar, glad to father any deceit which might prove grateful to the characteriſtic vanity of the French, and might tend to popularize his own empyrical adminiſtration, aſſured the patriots *Tout Cour*, that their reſources of *men* and *money* were inexhauſtible †: he found that *exaggeration* was to be the *primum mobile* of their new and coloſſal ſyſtem of politics, and they muſt be reconciled to a profuſe waſte of *both*; he therefore, in the year 1790, gave the ſupport of his accredited name to a population exceeding *twenty-five millions* of ſouls, but without ſo much as an oſtenſible baſe to go upon, much leſs any kind of inveſtigation inductive to ſomething *like* a proof.

In obſerving that no *earlier* authority can be cited for more than 21.000.000, I am aware that *l'Abbé d'Expilly* carried the account conſiderably higher. His eſtimates are partial, and

* Vide his *Letters to Sophie*, publiſhed at Paris in 1792, by Citizen Manuel, *Procureur de la Commune*.

Doctor Smith (to whom we are indebted for an incomparable Treatiſe on the Wealth of Nations) M. Swinton, and ſome other reſpectable Engliſh authors, we find much led aſtray on this topic.

† So ſoothing was this language to the pride and ambition of the Democrats, that Neckar thereby regained, in a great degree, a confidence among them, which had of late viſibly become very languid; and which he knew he could never forfeit, without imminent riſk of his life.

very

very little regarded by his own countrymen.—On this ſubject he entered the liſts as a diſputant, purpoſing to ſhow that the capital was not too large for the Body of the Monarchy; and therefore, in the year 1775, computed in Paris only 600.000 inhabitants: and "he has at the ſame time," ſays Mercier, "added *three millions to the real population of the kingdom.*"—The number of people throughout all the French territories, was, in the year 1680, after the ceſſion to France of Le Franche Comté and Alſace, by the peace of Nimeguen, as appears by Colbert's Memoirs, between *fifteen* and *ſixteen millions.* The revocation of the tolerating edict of Nantes took place five years after that epoch, when thouſands of families, profeſſing the Reformed Religion, emigrated* to Great Britain, Holland, and other Proteſtant countries. Louis XIV, during twenty years of the laſt twenty-four of his life, kept his ſubjects conſtantly falling off, by the moſt expanded and ſanguinary foreign war France had ever waged; ſo that, till the acceſſion of Louis XV, no farther increaſe to the *ſixteen million* is admiſſible, in common ſenſe.—At the cloſe of that long reign, which continued fifty-nine years, to 1774, two million of people muſt be added, as Monſ. *Moreau* aſſures us; and even l'Abbé d'Expilly claims no more. We ſhall

* Several of theſe manufacturers and mechanics contributed, by their labour and ingenious ſkill, to perfectionate our Britiſh fabrics, eſpecially in the weaving trade.

grant 500.000, computed by an acceſſion to Lorraine and Bar (on the demiſe of King Staniſlaus* of Poland); and for the iſland of Corſica, together with a great increaſe in the Weſt-India colonies†, and a progreſſive fecundity at home between 1774 and 1789, when France was at the achme of her proſperity, *half a million:* her population ſtill comes ſhort of twenty millions.

Let us take the Britiſh Iſles, compared with the Republic, in another point of view, and by a ſort of geographical parallel.—The diviſion of France, the moſt thinly inhabited, lies to the ſouth-weſt—what was anciently called the "*government of Guienne.*" It is compoſed of thirteen diſtinct cantons‡, about as large in the aggregate as *Scotland*, and *one ſixth part* of France. By a cenſus taken under the patronage of the late Marſhal Duke de Richlieu, in 1781, this go-

* The laſt Duke of Lorraine, and father of the Queen of Louis XV.

† At the beginning of the reign of Louis XV, the French part of the iſland of St. Domingo made annually, on average, 18.000 tons of ſugar: and had 10.000 white inhabitants, with 40 000 blacks, or mulattoes. In the year 1788, it ſhipped 125.000 tons of ſugar; and the quantity of coffee, and of cotton, was proportionally increaſed. The number of negroes and people of colour amounted to 230.000, and of Europeans to 56.000.—The iſland of Jamaica is nearly as large as the French part of St. Domingo, but her export, *communibus annis*, of ſugar, is ſcarce 70.000 tons; cotton and coffee, though in a very improving ſtate, not to be named for quantity, nor for quality, with thoſe articles heretofore ſent home by the French from St. Domingo. The Spaniſh diviſion of that ſettlement, lately ceded to France, is twice as extenſive as the other; and, were it not for the *novel policy* of the Republic, as to Freedom and Equality, might ſoon, by French induſtry and French enterprize, be rendered of an incalculable value.

‡ Rouverge, Condomois, Périgord, Quercy, Bazadois, Guienne (proper), Agénois, Armagnac, Bigorre. Commignes, Conſerans, Soules, and Gaſcogny (proper).

vernment

vernment of Guienne *then* contained *one million* and *ſeven hundred thouſand* inhabitants: it may be ſet off againſt *North Britain*, with a balance of one hundred thouſand, at the utmoſt, in favor of France.—The cities of Scotland, that contain upwards of 20.000 ſouls, are Edinburgh, Glaſgow, and Aberdeen: thoſe of the late government of Guienne, Bourdeaux, Montauban, and, *perhaps*, Bayonne.

Provence, Dauphiné, and Languedoc, with the Lower Navarre, Bearne, Rouſſignon, and Comté de Foix, make likewiſe a *ſixth part* of the French continent: they were reckoned all together, before the Revolution, at between *three million four hundred* and *three million five hundred thouſand*. We ſhall conſider them, in population, as they are in extent, *equal to the kingdom of Ireland* *.—The cities of Ireland, that contain upwards of 20.000 ſouls, are, Dublin, Cork, Waterford, Limerick, Kilkenny, Londonderry, Belfaſt, and Galway.—Thoſe of the above French provinces, admitting (on each ſide) the *banlieu*, are Marſeilles, Toulouſe, Montpellier, Grenoble, Niſmes, Aix, Perpignan, Narbonne, and Arles.—Ireland is very little larger than Scotland.

* A well-informed gentleman, born in that country, and diſtinguiſhed by very eminent abilities (Dennis O'Brien, eſq.) ſeems to compute them ſo high as 4 000.000 —See *Utrum Horum*, page 76.

Take

Take the *metropolis of both empires.*

Paris 850.000—London 900.000.—Balance, in 1789, in favor of Great Britain, 50.000.

Suppoſe the remaining *four-ſixths* of the kingdom of France, containing *juſt double the ſurface* of England and Wales, to comprehend double the inhabitants (which can ſcarce be thought probable*, after the view we have already given of the chief cities and towns) and ſuppoſe the *former* 7.300.000; there ſhould of courſe be in the *latter*, for a due proportion, - 14.600.000

Subjoin the *ci-devant* government of Guienne - - - -	1,800.000
Languedoc, Dauphiné, Provence, with the Lower Navarre, Bearne, Rouſſignon, and Comté de Foix	3.500.000
Paris - - - -	850.000
Total -	20.750.000

Our opinion is, *by this mode of reaſoning*, confirmed, that *twenty-one million* exceeded *by far*, ſtrangers included, the actual population of France, when the Revolution commenced, taking for its date, the ſtorming of the Baſtile, in July, 1789; from which æra the ferocious uſe of

* Some counties of Wales are rather thin of inhabitants; ſo is part of the county of Lincoln, Cornwall, and a narrow tract of country that borders Cumberland and Northumberland, towards North Britain.—We may, in return, ſay the ſame reſpecting Champaign (in France), the Upper Auvergne, ſome of La Marche, and weſt of Britanny. It is remarkable that the rich and very large province of Burgundy (as large again as Yorkſhire) had but *one* town, Dijon, which contained, in 1789, ſo many as 15.000 inhabitants.

lantern-ſtrings, denunciations, and *Committés des Recherches*, began a rapid deſtruction of the people.

Of *twenty million*, there will annually die by the common courſe of nature, *ſix hundred and fifty thouſand*, viz. about *one* in *thirty-one*.—Doctor Price, if we recollect right, averages a ſtill ſhorter term to mankind, from the womb to the grave. The Marquis de Buffon (who appears to be much more perfect in his knowledge of all other animals than *that* called Man) flatters us with a better tenure than Price by two years. —To equalize Nativities with interments, there ſhould yearly be *born* 650.000; but, for four years laſt paſt, the number of *deaths*, by ordinary cauſes, have been as *five to three* againſt *births*, if not double; we could quote ſome characters in high ſcientific repute among the French (and whoſe patriotiſm is well known) for this aſſertion; and, to account for it, we by no means conſider a difficult taſk:—Every poſſible calamity has militated againſt the procreation of children; huſband and wife—ſeparated either by the wars or confinement; marriages on an ephemeral eſtabliſhment—the heart of either party recoiling, in the inſtant of their union (ſanctified by no altar) at the idea of generating a brat, to become a clog on the purſe of the *one*, and not only a draw-back on the liberty of the *other*, but alſo to treſpaſs on her pleaſures, and render her charms

leſs

leſs marketable in caſe of divorce; and, indeed, a proviſion for the offspring is now rarely or never thought of in the nuptial contract. Noſtrums to procure abortion are, among the curious *nouveautés**, in faſhionable requeſt. The extenſive country of the *Vendée*, heretofore ſo prolific, has furniſhed very few infants ſince the civil broils began in that quarter; and the ſame remark may be made on the *Lyonnois*, the ſouthern departments of *Provence*, and half of *Languedoc* †.

We dare venture to affirm, that, ſince the ſubverſion of the old conſtitution, in 1789, the number of inhabitants in France has decreaſed, by emigration, aſſaſſination, incarceration‡, ſtarvation‡, conflagration‡, guillotine‡, *noyades*, *fuſillades (en maſſe)*, deſpair, ſuicide‡, &c. with an enormous diſparity between natural deaths and births, and a warfare more exterminating than was ever before known in modern ages, to the *amount of* FOUR MILLION, *and upwards.*— Which we calculate nearly thus:

* There are no longer the *Marchandes des Modes*. They have changed that appellation for *Marchandes des Nouveautés*, abound in all the well-frequented ſtreets of Paris, and begin to regain cuſtom in the provinces.

† It is but juſtice to declare, that, ever ſince the overthrow of the Jacobins, the Legiſlature has ſhown an anxious diſpoſition to reform the preſent vicious ordinances regarding Matrimony, but have not yet ventured to meet the reſiſtance there is great reaſon to apprehend from the Sans-Culotte claſs.

‡ We intended to give a note, *here*, on each of theſe ſeveral heads; but, as it muſt neceſſarily be of ſome length, we have judged beſt to refer the reader to an Appendix at the concluſion of the Book.—What we are to ſay of the Guillotine (a ſubject with which we apprehend the public is already nearly ſurfeited) will be only a ſketch of a few ſtriking Facts and Anecdotes which have come within our own immediate knowledge.

Dead by violent and other extra cauſes, (viz. emigration, &c. as above-mentioned) ſince the commencement of the Revolution, colonies included,	1.200.000
Diſparity of *births* compared with *natural deaths*, between 1789 and 1793, at leaſt 120.000 annually, on average of *thoſe* four years, - - -	480.000
DEATHS in ordinary mortality, beyond the BIRTHS, ſuppoſing the *former* to be yearly 650.000, and the *latter* 390.000, at a ratio of 5 to 3, for the laſt four years - - -	1.040.000
On one million of fighting men, in armies, fleets, inteſtine commotions, &c. from 1ſt Jan. 1793 to 31ſt Dec. 1796, at an annual *defecit* of 1-4th*	1.000.000
Loſt by the colonial civil wars†, and by wars in France, and Low Countries, Biſhopric of Liege, &c. between 1789 and 1ſt Jan. 1793 -	‡500.000
Total -	4.220.000

According to Citizen Couthon's ſtatement from the *Committé de Salut Public* (of which

* We have the beſt profeſſional teſtimony for this waſte in the armies, of *one fourth*, or near it, even during the courſe of a campaign *à l'hirondelle* (for the *ſwallow ſeaſon*) and when troops go early into winter quarters.—See Marſhal Saxe, Cohorn, Lloyd, &c. on this head.

† The civil war at St. Domingo raged to great extent, and with extreme rancour, before 1791.

‡ By common incidents in nature, there might probably have died, every year, *one* in *ſixty* of theſe, and not more, being at a time of life the leaſt liable to dangerous diſeaſes.—Deduct 25,000 annually for four years (from 1.500.000) amount 100.000.

he

he was a member) to the National Convention, in October, 1793, there were at that period 1.360.000 French ſubjects at open war, *viz.*

The twelve armies of the Republic, ſerving at home, Flanders, &c. -	1.100.000
In the French colonies, reckoning inſurgents of color, and blacks -	100.000
Revolters in the Vendée, Lyonnois, and ſouthern departments - -	100.000
Public fleets, and belonging to private ſhips and veſſels of war - -	60.000
Total -	*1.360.000

POPULATIONS *at the end of* 1796.

Britiſh Empire, 14.000.000, viz.

England & Wales with Guernſey, Jerſey, and Iſle of Man,	8.200.000
Ireland - -	3.500.000
Scotland - -	1.600.000
American Cont. and Colonies in the Weſt-Indies† -	600.000
Factories abroad, Gibraltar, &c. -	70.000
Sea-faring Men, without any fixed domicil on land - -	‡30.000
Total -	14.000.000

Foreigners not computed.

French Empire, reduced from 20 to 16.000.000.

Of Foreigners there may be 60.000, or nearly 70.000, now reſident in France, moſtly Swiſs and Savoyards§.

* This report of Couthon's was fully confirmed by the *Cadres Militaires* which Dubois Crancé publiſhed, and delivered in to Government, in January, 1794.—The ſame Citizen Dubois laſt year (in March, 1796) aſſured the Legiſlative Council, that the effective troops of the Republic then actually ſerving exceeded 900.000; ſo that the medium we have taken, of *one million*, is not too high, ſince 1793, incluſive.

† We ſay nothing of the Britiſh domain in the Eaſt-Indies, however it may furniſh a vaſt ſupplemental ſtrength to our fleets and armies, as it always does a prodigious number of men in aid of our commerce.

‡ There are at leaſt ſo many native mariners in public or private employ, who have only a ſort of floating domicil, and no ſettlement on ſhore.

§ Beſides Engliſh, Italians, Flemings, &c. heretofore ſettled in France, there were ſeveral foreign regiments conſtantly in the pay of that crown.

Twenty

Twenty million of inhabitants will ſcarce afford three million of *males*, at a healthful ſtage of life, of vigorous bodies, and fit for military enterprize, or ſuch manual labor, in civil ſociety, as requires athletic exertion; and, as the Revolution has, in its progreſs, ſince 1789, expended (excluſively of the demands of nature) on the loweſt eſtimate, *one million two hundred thouſand* French ſubjects of *that deſcription*, it is reaſonable to conclude that the *Britiſh monarchy now poſſeſſes* a force in men, from the age of 20 to 50, *equal to France*, the balance upon the whole population, though on the ſide of the Republic, being principally made up of the old and infirm*.

We ſhall not feel diſpleaſed, if theſe propoſitions and inferences are candidly controverted; our ſincere wiſh, on a ſubject ſo important to the political part of Chriſtendom, being to aſcertain truth. But we can pay no ſerious regard to the laconic *ipſe dixi* of Citizen Prory, nor Citizen La Croix, nor to the impaſſioned rhodomontade of any public declaimer whoſoever; even the dogmatic *ton-tranchant* of a Paine, or a Neckar, without demonſtration by *authentic* facts and arguments will carry no weight.

* In the ſtate of cities and towns of Great Britain and Ireland, ſome ſiniſter changes, and thoſe much to be lamented, muſt occur: they are ſuch as they experienced during the American, and preceding wars; but, thank Heaven! we have none of the new and crying calamities to deplore, which have viſited and deſolated France.—Our *population*, ſince January, 1793, when the Republicans declared war againſt us (and it was then rapidly increaſing) has doubtleſs ſuffered a ſevere check; and it is probable we have already loſt above 100,000 ſoldiers and ſailors, eſpecially when we reflect upon the dreadful diſtempers that have prevailed between the tropics.

Ought

Ought this to be regarded only as a *temporary change* in the comparative condition of the two rival nations, or otherwiſe?—We ſee no reaſon to apprehend that France, if we keep her to the limits of her former monarchy, will ever again attain an advantage in point of population.—So far from a future increaſe, unleſs her legiſlature ſoon promulgates far other laws and maxims, to guide the executive power, than are now at the conſtant *ordre de jour**—unleſs a ſhameful licentiouſneſs, and profligate debauchery, yield to a vigorous repreſſive police—unleſs the altars of matrimony, cleanſed of their new defilement, offer up a more ſanctified and genial incenſe to Heaven, that parents and their offspring become mutually ſenſible to the ſweet endearments of kindred blood, and of ſocial friendſhip;—in ſhort, unleſs the *moral* precepts, at leaſt, of the Chriſtian Goſpel are again reſorted to in the education of youth, it requires no ſupernatural inſpiration to preſage, that, before the cloſe of the approaching century, the breed of *Sans-culotte* patriots will be as completely extirpated as the ancient race of Gomorrah, or of Babylon.—For the preſent repeated demand, in the Republic, on the lives of individuals, the amazing population of the Chineſe empire would ſcarce ſuffice†.

In

* La Terreur (Terror) remained during five months on the Journals of the late Convention, in the year 1794, as a ſtanding order of the day; and an *order of the day*, with them, operates as an edict, till it be annulled by a vote.

† Nor all the gold and ſilver mines of Peru and Mexico to maintain their civil

In what, then, does the ſuperiority of France conſiſt, if not in a commanding and overwhelming population?—The author of "*Two Letters to a Member of Parliament*," has, we think, treated this ſubject in a ſtrange and paradoxical way. We bow, with due deference, to ſo tranſcendent a genius, while we take the liberty of introducing ourſelves to him with his own admirable apology on a like occaſion: "If (ſays he) I ſeem not to accord with thoſe I reſpect, in every degree ſhort of ſuperſtition, I think myſelf obliged to give my reaſons fully."—We own, the political writings of Mr. Burke ſtrike us in much the ſame manner as ſeveral maſter-pieces in painting we have ſeen by Rembrandt, which pleaſe—not from correctneſs of deſign, nor the verity of his local colours (moſtly diſtempered) but, the art and energy with which they are laid on: the effect of what painters call the *chiar-oſcuro*, or harmony of light and ſhade, is indeed wonderful!

"Its vaſt *territorial extent*—riches of *production*—riches of *commerce**." Let us take a full and fair ſcope of this ball of earth whereon we are ſtationed by Providence, and, aſſuredly, Great Britain has a portion of territory, in point of

and military eſtabliſhments.—We flatter ourſelves ſome other and more able hand will properly expoſe the debility of their *finances*, and their impoſtures on that head.

* Vide "Two Letters by Edmund Burke, Eſq." printed in 1796, page 139.—The author adds to theſe, "Riches of Convention," (the meaning of which we confeſs we do not underſtand)—and alſo, its "*immenſe population*."

exten:

extent the largeſt (though not the moſt compact*) the *richeſt in production*, the *richeſt in commerce*. France is in a poſition nearer for trade with the *South* of Europe—Great Britain and Ireland with the *North:* to the *Eaſt* of Europe, France has the advantage, though not much, unleſs poſſeſſed of the Low Countries†: to the *Weſt*, both nations are equally well placed:—France is nearer to Spain; yet, on that ſide, there is but little diverſity of production.

England is more beneficially circumſtanced as to Portugal. Nothing vivifies and nouriſhes foreign commerce, like the variety of neceſſaries, and objects of luxury, with which oppoſite climates may ſupply each other.—In *Aſia*, there is no room for compariſon: as to *Africa*, the two countries are nearly on a par; but, to the *American* quarter of the globe (meaning the commercial part of it) we are not only more contiguous, but enjoy many advantages too manifeſt to bear an argument‡.

Our coaſts are more extenſive, our ports and havens more in number and more commodious, and our ſhores, in general, are ſafer of approach;

* *Compactneſs of her dominion*, as an advantage to France, Mr. Burke has very properly noticed. She has alſo a clearer, though not more fertilizing, atmoſphere; and the climate of thoſe latitudes is doubtleſs more agreeable than our's.

† Recollect, we ſpeak of France properly ſo called, with the dependencies of her monarchy; and not of her accidental, and, as yet, uncertain conqueſts.

‡ "Nothing is ſo ſtrong a tie of amity between nation and nation, as a correſpondence in cuſtoms, manners, and habits of life. They have more than the force of treaties," &c.—BURKE.

and, in ſailing up or down the Britiſh Channel, the French hold it neceſſary, even with the hazards of war, to navigate for our headlands and our light-houſes.—We have mines of *copper*, *iron*, *lead*, &c. ſo has France: we have mines of *tin*, extremely valuable; ſhe has none. Our coal-mines, of which France has but very few (and thoſe at the northern extremity of Picardy, and of a bad quality) are to us an eternal ſource of wealth, in our manufacturing induſtry, and in our maritime greatneſs—beſides comfort, and œconomy in domeſtic uſes*.—The home-fiſheries of Great Britain are in value much beyond thoſe of France, even without reſorting to that ineſtimable branch on the neighbouring banks of Newfoundland.—Our natural ſoil is not leſs grateful to the cultivator; and in practical huſbandry, the French are behind us full *fifty* years. Our grain is now ſufficiently abundant for internal conſumption, even in a ſcanty ſeaſon†: our horſes, flocks, and herds, are much more numerous than in France—perhaps, in conſequence of this all-deſtroying Revolution, doubly ſo;

* There is no country of Chriſtendom in which fuel is ſo ſcarce, and ſo dear, as France; and ſuch has been their improvident havoc, of late, among the woods and young nurſeries, that, in a few more winters, Paris muſt be in moſt wretched diſtreſs for this article, eſpecially as what the banks of the rivers Seine and Yonne furniſhed by water-carriage, is already conſumed.

† It is a common idea with us, that vineyards give a rich return. They do, where the wine is of a prime quality, as in Burgundy, and part of Guyenne; but not in general. The two richeſt provinces in France are Languedoc and Normandy; the *firſt* has no vineyards at all, and the *laſt* yields much more corn than wine.

and, upon the whole, they are generated from a better ſtock.

"At the beginning of the preſent century, the exports and imports of the Britiſh nation, now forty-ſix millions ſterling, did not amount to ten: we had only one river navigation, the Aire and Calder, in Scotland."—We borrow this remark from Mr. Burke, and beg not to ſtop here.—"At no time has the wealth and power of this country been ſo conſiderable as at this moment*. The inland trade, in part growing out of the foreign, connected with it, and more ſubſtantially nutritive to the ſtate, is not only grown in a proportion of near five to one, as the foreign, but has been augmented, at leaſt, in a ten-fold proportion. The increaſe of private confidence, of general circulation, and of internal commerce, is aſtoniſhing†."

In France (ſays Barras‡, in his Report, delivered 13th December, 1796, to the Council of Five Hundred, on the actual State of the Republic) "Murder and robbery are organized in many places, the public roads are impaſſable for want of repair, the communications *every where* interrupted." "All public credit—all private truſt, have long ago been at an end, commerce and the arts are gone from us; our manufactures

* See Two Letters to a Member of Parliament, page 12.

† Ditto, page 80.

‡ Barras was then Preſident of the Directory. See "*Le Journal des Débats.*"

ſhut up; and every public relation has ceaſed*." "Revenue annihilated, defaced manufactures, a ruined commerce, an uncultivated and *half-depopulated* country, with a diſcontented, diſtreſſed, enſlaved, and famiſhed people†."—Such are the features of the Republic with which we are now contending; delineated with a ſtrictly faithful, though not a flattering pencil. We ſtart from them, as objects of wretchedneſs, to excite ſentiments of congenial *pity*, but not *public dread*.

Mr. Burke is willing we ſhould remark, that "the advantages given them by nature are aſtoniſhingly leſſened‡;" yet he holds forth a propoſition not eaſy to reconcile with what he has juſt before ſaid—"England cannot pretend to cope with France, but as ſhe is connected with the body of Chriſtendom§." He has clearly, and with becoming exultation, ſhown that England, in the days of King William (about a century ago) with only the ſlender alliance of Holland, *did* cope with France, not unſucceſsfully; and it was before we were *Great Britain*. Scotland was a ſeparate kingdom, and had not yet renounced her long-accuſtomed connections and co-operation with France, for the purpoſe of humbling a country of which ſhe was ever anx-

* Letter of the Deputies of the Commercial Towns of France to the Miniſter of Finances. Paris, 18 Nivoſe (7th January) 1797.

† Mr. Burke's Letters, page 6. ‡ Ditto, page 179. § Ditto, page 16.

iouſly

iouſly jealous, and by whoſe projects of ambition ſhe had often felt ſorely aggrieved: it would therefore have been leſs a matter for wonder, at that time, to have ſeen a King of Scotland and a King of England, the two crowns encircling the ſame head, act counter to each other, than it is at this day to ſee a *certain Elector* pacifically inimical to the King of Great Britain, while with one hand he wields the regal, with the other the electoral ſceptre; to ſee Hnover countenance the Republic of France in its plan to ſequeſter *three* out of the *nine** Electorates of the Empire: thus abjuring the conſtitutional protecting power of the paramount ſovereign of Germany, and becoming an accomplice to mutilate and ſever ſo many limbs from that body of which ſhe herſelf is a member†.

In the year 1689 (the æra of a happier revolution) our navy, till joined by the Dutch, was not a match for Lewis XIV. The inhabitants of France were, *then*, ſixteen million, while England, together with Ireland, her tranſatlantic colonies and dependencies, had, all together, only eight million and a half‡. At preſent, the confederate fleets of France, Spain,

* Now Bavaria and the Palatinate are under the ſame prince, there are, in fact, only eight Electors, including the Emperor, as King of Bohemia.

† French agents, in the ſpring of 1796, not merely by ſufferance, but active ſupport, from the Hanoverian Regency, bought in that country a conſiderable number of horſes, to remount their cavalry on the Lower Rhine.

‡ This accords with Sir William Petty, and all the moſt approved calculators of that period.

and

and the Hollanders, if united, count fewer ſhips in number, by at leaſt a third, than that of Great Britain; and, were they even directed by one central impulſion, acting with one ſpirit, and purſuing the ſame intereſt (which is very far from the caſe) their force, and profeſſional tactic, could not poſſibly, with any chance of ſucceſs, be oppoſed to our's.

We have already demonſtrated that the population of France, inſtead of being, as in the time of King William, *two* to *one* againſt us, has now a bare preponderance. Our anceſtors, at that arduous criſis, ſet us a noble example of firmneſs and fortitude: by no means depreſſed by their adverſe fortune—an unſtable credit—unproductive public impoſts—heavy taxes—and long continuance of hoſtilities *(the eighth year*)* they ſought, by the proſecution of war, a ſafe and admiſſible peace: they came forward, and engaged to give the crown the moſt effectual aſſiſtance againſt all enemies whoſoever, foreign and domeſtic, doubting not (as the Commons expreſs it in their Addreſs to the King) that "his Majeſty would, by the wealth, courage, and *unanimity*, of his ſubjects, be carried with *honor* and ſucceſs through all the difficulties of a juſt war†."

* We are now terminating the fourth.

† They will not 'be amuſed, nor diverted, from that purſuit.

At

At the peace of Ryſwick, which followed not long after*, "the great aim," ſays the hiſtorian†, "was accompliſhed, of *putting a ſtop to the encroachments of France.*"

If the miniſters of that day had ſent, in the name of their royal maſter, ſuch an embaſſy to the moſt powerful monarch that has ever ſat on a Chriſtian throne ſince Charles the Fifth, as was lately diſpatched from the court of St. James's to the Five Republican Potentates, at the Luxemburg‡, they would have been treated by their countrymen with the ſevereſt ſtigmas of reprehenſion, and with difficulty have eſcaped the fate of traitors: not but that many a punctilious etiquette ought to be ceded, if likely to avert the bloodſhed and horrors of only one day's battle;—but an embaſſy in ſo reptile a faſhion, at ſuch a conjuncture, and to ſuch a government, could only ſerve to excite ſcorn, and to provoke farther imperiouſneſs.—The diſmiſſion of Lord Malmeſbury from Paris, officially ſignified by Lacroix, falls little ſhort of the well-known inſolence of the Conſul Popillius towards Antiochus of Syria. He drew with a vine-twig (which he uſually carried in his hand) a line round the King, and commanded his ſignature to ſuch terms as Rome judged fit to dictate, before he advanced an inch

* September, 1697.

† Smollet.

‡ The Luxemburg palace (now magnificently fitted up) is the reſidence of the Directory.

beyond

beyond that circle*.—Extraordinary as it muſt certainly appear, the ſame eloquent ſtateſmen who reprobated the treaties of Paris, and of Verſailles (in 1762 and 1783) as too humiliating for Great Britain, find fault with the ſacrifices tendered by her to the enemy, on the preſent occaſion, as not ſufficiently liberal.—Are we, then, become ſo degenerate and ſpiritleſs—the palm of victory won in every part of the globe—to ſhrink already from a conteſt, on the reſolute maintenance of which our very *all* depends?—Heaven, and the tutelar genius of Britain, forbid!—"The French," Mr. Burke tells us, "ſhow ſymptoms of being almoſt effete:" but he alſo tells us, that "ſome ſtates have, even in the depth of their calamity, and on the very ruins of their country, laid the foundation of a towering and durable greatneſs"†.—Here, then, reſts the beſt hope of France: but again, Mr. Burke exclaims, "out of this ruin has ariſen a vaſt tremendous inform ſpectre, in a more terrific guiſe than ever yet overpowered the fortitude of man;" that, "had France only half the population ſhe poſſeſſes, he ſhould ſtill fear her, not *as France*,

* Antiochus required time "*to conſult with his friends*;" and ſuch was the reception his reaſonable demand met with, from the negociator for peace, with whom he was treating.

† We are at a loſs to recollect a ſimilar condition, in any ſtate, ſince the creation of the world. The Roman republic found itſelf in the depth of calamity, after the long and bloody civil wars which began with Sylla, and which Octavius Cæſar terminated at the battle of Actium: yet the ſituation of Rome, relatively to foreign powers, was not at all like that of France. England was, it is true, deplorably reduced by the contention of York and Lancaſter; upon their union under Henry VII. and his Queen, the feudal ſyſtem became ſoon aboliſhed; and on the introduction of commerce, navigation, arts, and ſciences, were laid the foundations of our preſent greatneſs.—But we were never as France is now.

but

but *as Jacobin France*;" and that he has not "firmneſs of nerve to face Jacobin Fraternity—he is aſtoniſhed at thoſe who have*."—It is, however, to *Jacobin France, internally*, and to the war with England, *externally* ("the *puppet-ſhow* of a navy†," as he ſtyles it) that the greateſt diſaſters of the Revolution are owing. This is what every Savoyard chimney-ſweeper in Paris is politician enough to know. The memory of Robeſpierre is ſcarcely more deteſted throughout the republic, as chief of the Jacobins, than the memory of Briſſot, as prime mover of the war againſt England‡; and to which they juſtly impute, in a great degree, the heavy preſſure of their preſent wants and miſery.—It appears that theſe demoniacs, called Jacobins, have torn up by the roots, deſecrated, and deſtroyed, all the mighty reſources of their native land; mean time, their wild exploits have ſaved more thrones than they have overturned.

A *Jacobin enragé* is (we agree with Mr. Burke) a hideous and a terrific animal: ſo is the moſt errant cur-dog, when, with the hydrophobia upon him, he runs along the highways, lacerating, infecting, annoying, all he meets; but every

* Two Letters, page 157.

† Ditto, page 16.

‡ Preparatory to the declaration of war (29 January, 1793) Briſſot delivered, in the Convention, an elaborate ſpeech, to which the empty vanity of his auditors gave full credit; pledging himſelf to the Republic, that her navy would ſoon prove an overmatch for that of Great Britain; and he promiſed the mines of South America, if Spain ſhould dare to join the Confederates.

mortal that happens to come within the vortex of his reſpiration, inſtinctively as it were, aſſembles to form a band for his defeat; and his exiſtence, for any length of time, is not poſſible.

Had the ſound revolutionary principles, which firſt offered themſelves as a corrective to the old vicious rule of deſpotiſm (for vicious it certainly was) been predominant in their new ſyſtem of politics; had they taken the Britiſh conſtitution for a baſis to work upon and *improve** (the excellence of which is ſo highly commended by *Monteſquieu*, *De Lolme*†, and all the beſt writers in their own tongue) we ſhould, in the end, have had much more dangerous neighbours and competitors to deal with, than in their preſent exhauſted ſtate. In that caſe, it were difficult to conjecture to what points a ſtrong paſſion for reform might have been directed, or where it might have ſtopped. The cap of liberty would not have been ſo ſoon, and ſo indignantly, thrown away, by thoſe who, at the beginning, fondly put it on their brows, without ever ſuſpecting they would find it ſtuck with thorns, inſtead of being garniſhed with roſes‡.—The echo of free-

dom

* This, we are aſſured, Condorcet once ſuggeſted to his party, as the moſt ſalutary meaſure; and many of the ableſt men, who continue ſtill in the ſervice of the Republic, declaredly lament it was not adopted.

† Maximilian Robeſpierre, a ſhort time before his death, harangued the Jacobin Club half an hour, in virulent abuſe of Monſ. de Lolme, for his admirable Treatiſe on the Britiſh Laws and Conſtitution.

‡ A man dare no more appear, in theſe times, at a *ſpectacle* in Paris (and it is the ſame in the provinces) with a *bonnet-rouge* on his head, than with a white cockade.

At

dom had already faſcinated moſt of the petty ſtates of Italy and Germany: the Lombards, Milaneſe, Suabians, Franconians, &c. were, at heart, zealouſly diſpoſed to favor the Republican patriots; laſt ſummer, afforded a deciſive practical ſpecimen of the eſtabliſhed mode of enjoying their newly-acquired bleſſings, theſe ſtrangers opened their arms, their houſes, their purſes, to receive and entertain them: and doing homage to their plan in theory, as well as to their valorous atchievements, humbly courted a few leſſons of fraternity. After a perſonal acquaintance of about three weeks*, from the banks of the Adige and the Po†, to the lower extremity of the Rhine, there was heard but one public voice, perfectly in uniſon, "Heaven, in its mercy, preſerve us, our wives, our children, our property, from ſuch viſitors! They have already made us heartily ſick of their company, and given us a ſurfeit of their freedom."---Hardly will they venture a ſecond viſit in the ſame quarter.

Yet, it is not by French Republicans that the common people of England were firſt taught

At the theatre of the Rue *Faudeau*, above a year ſince, the ſpectators ſtopped the play, till a red cap, which appeared painted amidſt other ſymbolic ornaments on the curtain, ſhould be cut out, or effaced; nor would the performance have been at all ſuffered, if one of the audience in the pit had not leaped on the ſtage, and, demanding a ſheet of paper, pinned it upon the canvas, ſo as effectually to maſk the object of ſuch general diſguſt.

* The French armies were not quite a month in Suabia and Franconia, before Prince Charles, having gained a deciſive victory on the banks of the Danube, drove them back as far as the frontiers of Switzerland, and to Briſgaw.

† The chief rivers in the north of Italy are the Po and the Adige.

Jacobiniſm. In the compoſition of the lower claſſes of ſociety, in all countries, and in all ages, it has been a principal ingredient: we perceive them, indeed, much more highly tinctured with it in Great Britain, ſince the indiſcriminate introduction of Learning. Heretofore, the poor labourer knew (and ſome freſh grave enforced it on his ſenſes, whenever he croſſed a church-yard to his Sunday devotion) that all mankind, in their elementary nature, are equal; but he looked up with ſubmiſſive reſpect to an intellectual ſuperiority, attained by education. *Now*, our peaſantry are from childhood inſtructed in letters, and moſt of them to write; ſcarce has a clown, or a cobler, acquired a ſpice of newſpaper erudition, has read, and treaſured up in his brain, half a dozen *Chronicles*, as many *Univerſal Intelligencers*—become a proficient in the ſtudy of the *ſun* and *ſtars* (there only wants a *moon* to complete this celeſtial order of things) when he derives from thence a thorough and proud conviction, that he is full as well qualified to govern the ſtate as either Mr. Pitt or Mr. Fox—much better, from what they ſay in Parliament of each other's talents and integrity: in his own conceit, *he* is a very able, upright fellow; and, if the *chief leaders* at Weſtminſter are thus notorious for incapacity and turpitude, what muſt the *ſubordinate* members of the legiſlative repreſentation be?—Thus he brings his pretenſions to ſomething

thing above a level with thoſe who are often, by miſtake, called his betters; and if ſome eloquent patriotic clubbiſt will but kindly diſplay to him the ſweets of an Agrarian law (having no ſubſtance of his own) and the harmony and good that muſt reſult to mankind, from a ſyſtem that ſhall equalize all ranks and conditions of perſons —behold John Bull already become *half a Jacobin*, meaſured by Mr. Burke's ſtandard: but to make him the *other* half, "at the altitude of circumſtances*," would yet be a very arduous taſk: for, of all mobs ever ſeen in Chriſtendom, foreigners remark that the Engliſh are the leaſt blood-thirſty, and the leaſt cruel, though not the leaſt clamorous. However, as to "*reaſon*, *argument*, good *example*†," ſuch intruders would have as little chance to ſtop a riot at London as at Paris. By what *reaſon*, by what *argument*, by what *example*, were the rabble in Leiceſter-ſquare influenced, when they broke the windows, and proceeded to pull down the dwelling-houſe, of a man‡ who, in addition to an excellent, well-improved underſtanding, and acknowledged public virtues, had every attractive feature which we are charmed with in the private character of *Admetus*, as drawn by Homer?

"Rich, hoſpitable, good---*a friend to human race*," &c.‖

* "A l'hauteur des circonſtances."

† "On theſe (PURE Jacobins) no reaſon, no argument, no example, govenerable authority, can have the ſlighteſt influence."——BURKE's Letters, page 67.

‡ The late popular repreſentative for the county of York.

‖ "Faſt by the road, his ever-open door
"Oblig'd the wealthy, and reliev'd the poor."—POPE's Iliad, lib. 6.

Where was the "*venerable authority*" that had not force enough to extinguiſh a ſingle ſpark of the fire-brands with which a group of incendiaries, in 1780, reduced to aſhes the library, buſts, and manuſcripts of Lord Chief Juſtice Mansfield? —Here, then, are two home-brought inſtances of *Vandaliſme**, to compare with the demolition of the priſons of the Baſtile, in France; and they both bear an earlier date.

That "in England and Scotland, of the part of the community (ſuppoſed 400,000) who have means of *information, and above mental dependance*, there are 80,000 *pure* Jacobins, virtually incorporated into the cabal in France†," ſeems a moſt hyperbolical propoſition. The author of the Two Letters has candidly acknowledged his *fear*, and *fear*, we know, is a very imperfect maſter of accompts:—let us, then, rather hope, and believe, that (like *Scrub* in the Comedy) he has terribly multiplied his thieves. This may be confidently averred, that, if we actually have among us 80,000 Jacobins of *ſuch deſcription*, they much exceed in number what are now remaining throughout the whole republic of France. The tempeſtuous reign of Jacobiniſm is *there* at an end, moſt probably for ever: it triumphed eighteen months in its full atrocity, from the

* A new term introduced into the French language, and applied to the Barbarian depredations committed under Robeſpierre and his junto.

† See Mr. Burke's Letters, page 67.—Ireland is omitted in the computation.

decollation

decollation of Lewis XVI, to that of Robeſpierre. —The waves of the ocean, after a dreadful ſtorm, ſtill ſwell, and long continue agitated, though the fury of the gale be ſpent: it is by their gradual ſubſiding, not a ſudden and dead calm, that the labouring veſſel becomes righted, and ſteers her courſe with ſafety. The French Jacobins got a very ſickening blow on the choice of a *nouveau Tiers* to the Legiſlative Council, in September, 1795, and are likely to receive their final *coup de grâce* two months hence, by the change of another third*.

And however we may cenſure, hate, or dread, the ſyſtem of politics which ſtill keeps the aſcendant in France, let us not utterly ſhut up our faculties to candor and juſtice: we ſhall then ſoon ſatisfy ourſelves, that a majority of the people in France are no more Jacobins than Mr. Burke†. It would *now* be ſafer for a Jacobin to declare himſelf ſuch in the drawing-room at St. James's, than in the public market-place of any conſiderable town of the Republic‡. Mr.

* But very few members will afterwards remain in the Council, who voted for the death of the King, and rejected an appeal to the nation at large; nor is there the leaſt apprehenſion to be entertained of a Jacobin majority in the *Aſſemblés primaires*.

† Two Letters, page 68.

‡ Even les *Dames de la Halle* (the fiſh-women) have ſeceded from Jacobin orgies and aſſociations. They have, we own, ſtill ſome preponderance in the armies, eſpecially the volunteer *corps*, which are, however, nearly worn out. Many of the field-officers, too, are Jacobins; very few among the generals; of the commanders in chief, or of diviſion, perhaps none, except Jourdain.—Moreau, d'Harville, Stingle (a worthy and brave man, lately killed in Italy) Hoche, Bournonville, Kilmaine, have all of them been heretofore denounced and impriſoned by the Jacobins.

Burke,

Burke, againſt his own rule, "judges of the generality of the opinion by the noiſe of the acclamation*." The French, in general, regard the Jacobins as the diſgrace, and peſt, of ſociety; that have, indeed, ſown ſeeds of the moſt flagitious principles in other countries, but, in their own, have carried thoſe principles into rueful practice — have deluged France with blood, deſpoiled the rich patrimony beſtowed on her by Nature, and rendered the name of a Frenchman univerſally ſhuddered at and abhorred: government is therefore bent upon their ſubjugation, and, if poſſible, to obliterate every veſtige of their cannibaliſm; but it is not to be done by an uncircumſpect and haſty violence; to confound the characters, public or private, of ſuch men as Boiſſy D'Anglas, Barthelemy, Pichegru, Thibadeau, Lanjounois, Gopilleau, Garnier de L'Aube, Dumas, &c. with Barrere, Billaud, Iſnard, Hebert, Santerre, Chaumette, Collot, Citizen Egalité, and Drouet, would be full as unfair, and as abſurd, as to brand the innovation in church and ſtate, attempted by the firſt *Condé*, and *De Coligny*†, with

* Notwithſtanding the apparent ſilence of Royaliſm, there are ten Royaliſts for one Jacobin. The gift of prophecy is not allowed to humble proſe-writers, as it was to the bards of antiquity, otherwiſe we ſhould be apt to foreſee that a ſhorter time will elapſe, from the deciſive battle of Gemappe to a re-eſtabliſhment of the monarchy in France (whatever may be its new modifications)—than in England, from the fight at Worceſter, 1651 (that laſt ſtake in the field of the King's party) to the reſtoration of Charles II.—Nine years.

† The Admiral De Coligny was one of the chiefs of the Huguenots, and murdered by Charles IX, on the eve of St. Bartholomew.

the

the ſame infamy as appertains to *Jean Bon-homme** and his villainous ragamuffins, in the reign of Charles VI; or to eſtimate our Hampden, Holles, and Sidney, no better than the Tylers, the Straws, and the Cades.

France is, in our apprehenſion, no longer to be feared by Great Britain, "as *France*, nor as *Jacobin France*†," but as France with her colonies reſtored to her, and *left in peaceable poſſeſſion of the Low Countries*;—to add three million of ſubjects to her diminiſhed population;—to appropriate excluſively to herſelf, the traffic and toil of thoſe territories;—to cut off abſolutely all acceſs to us, with South Germany and Switzerland;—to open the Scheldt—re-found an emporium at Antwerp—keep Holland in ſubjection—extend her coaſting navigation—and approximate her domain to the Baltic countries, from whence ſhe draws her naval ſtores.

Fidelity to our ally, the Emperor, lays us under an obligation to ſtruggle for a recovery of what has been taken from him during our partnerſhip in the conteſt. The ſteady and intrepid conduct

* *Jean Bon-homme* (in Engliſh, *John Good-fellow*) was a cotemporary of Wat Tyler and Jack Straw, with the ſame profeſſed deſign, which was levelling, he triumphed ſeveral months, his followers being numerous:—All order and property were violated throughout a greater part of the kingdom of France, as it was then limited; and their iniquities have been only exceeded by thoſe which we have ſeen under the ſway of Robeſpierre. The chevalier Froiſſard, who lived at that time, has given us, in his hiſtory, a curious and particular account of theſe ancient Jacobinical outrages.

† "Not only as ſhe is France, but as ſhe is Jacobin France."—Burke's Letters, page 74.

of that prince makes ſome amends for the recreant defection of others; who, while the French Democrats are buſy to excite hatred towards them in one half of Europe, take infinite pains, by their crouching timidity, to inſpire the remaining half with a moſt humiliating contempt.

But is it merely to ſerve the purpoſes of an Emperor of Germany, that we are to continue the war?—Certainly not. The meaſure is become indiſpenſibly requiſite for the preſervation of ourſelves, and our poſterity. We are aware of the maxim, often repeated, and founded on very learned claſſical authority, that "A bad peace is preferable to the moſt ſucceſsful war." It far from applies to the preſent purpoſe; for by ſuch terms as the French Republic now indicates a diſpoſition to liſten to, our ruin muſt follow: whereas, by purſuing the war with ſucceſs (and, *if our means are well employed*, we perceive no gloomy perſpective of the reverſe) we ſecure a permanent tranquillity, probably for ages to come.—Dictators aboard our ſhips, we chooſe the field of contention for our armies; and there is *this* material difference between conqueſts made by the enemy, and our's—that what they have won by the campaigns of Flanders, and on the banks of the Rhine and the Meuſe, in 1794 and 1795, and kept at an immenſe coſt of blood and treaſure during 1796, they may, and it is moſt likely they will, loſe again in 1797 or 1798.

One

One battle ſhall wreſt a ſceptre out of the hand of a King or an Emperor, which the next, by the ordinary fortune of war, ſhall reſtore: but it is no longer in the chances of battle to wreſt from the graſp of Albion the trident of Neptune*; ſuch is the invincible aſcendancy we have eſtabliſhed on the main; and, while we rule the waves, the French colonies in either † India muſt, conſequently, if we pleaſe, be our's.—An

* "I declared (ſays Mirabeau) that I had a ſecret, by which the fleet of England might be made one-third fewer in number than it would otherwiſe be found, before the end of the ſummer.—By order of the miniſtry, I diſcloſed the ſecret; it was, *inſtantly to burn all thoſe ſhips of war at Breſt and Toulon, which they intended ſhould meet the enemy.*"—Letter to *Sophie*, written from Vincennes, in 1778; printed at Paris, by Manuel, 1792. The vulgar will not eaſily believe, that a hero may die on the common bed of ſickneſs, like another man:—Gabriel, Marquis de Mirabeau, claims *that* title, if the qualities of the head can give it, without thoſe of the heart. He had nothing good in *that* part, but great courage. He died, aged about 40, by no other poiſon (as was ſuſpected) than what lay long in his veins, after an early and groſs debauchery. This is clear, from his printed correſpondence with *Sophie*, Marquiſe de M———, whom he ſeduced in her youth, from the arms of an old huſband, and fled with her to Holland. They were ſeized at Amſterdam, by emiſſaries ſent from the French government, and the Marquis was, in virtue of a *Lettre-de-Cachet*, obtained by the Count his father, confined many years at Vincennes. He, from thence, ſent ſeveral epiſtles, more amorous than any of Ovid's, to his beloved Sophie, whoſe anſwers ſhow a moſt cultivated underſtanding, though, in paſſion, at the altitude of the warmeſt romance. Mirabeau addreſſed to her, the "Elegies of Tibullus," and alſo the "Baſia of Jok Secundus," both which books he tranſlated in priſon.—"If I have been able to do juſtice to Tibullus, it is becauſe Love himſelf, knowing it was for *Sophie*, inſpired me."—"The Kiſſes of *Sophie* are not like mortal kiſſes, they are pure nectar." (Baſ. 4. J. Secundus).—"Without my *Sophie*, I would refuſe the throne of Jupiter, nor be a gueſt at a banquet of the gods, unleſs ſhe were preſent." The two lovers mutually atteſted Heaven, never to out-live their attachment, and interchanged vows ſeveral times to that effect. Mirabeau, releaſed from priſon, ſoon preferred a profligate variety, and broke his word; the Marquiſe de M——— kept her's; and ſuffocated herſelf by the ſulphurous fumes of a caſſolette, which (dreſſed in a ſuit of deep mourning) ſhe inhaled, as ſhe lay recumbent on a ſofa.—Mirabeau had a clumſy figure, and very frightful face.

† They have ſtill, beyond the *Cape of Good Hope*, *L'Iſle de France*, and *L'Iſle de Bourbon*. The laſt rich in produce.

iſland fortuitouſly, and through negligence on our part, like Guadaloupe, recaptured, anſwers no better end to France than to add to the heavy load already on her finances, and to bury garriſon upon garriſon, from epidemic diſeaſes, ſo frequent under the tropical climates; nor can ſhe look for any beneficial return, not a ſingle veſſel with the produce of Guadaloupe having, in two years, found its way ſafe home to Europe*.

A *nominal* peace with France, which is the only one yet in view with the Republic, would, in fact, be a ſhort and jealous ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities; and if ſuch a peace were concluded, it would be inſanity in Great Britain to diſarm---ſhe muſt ſtill maintain, grievous as her burthens are, a heavy war expenditure.

A maritime armiſtice (for no more would it in fact prove) is the moſt perilous poſition in which we can be placed---the only one by which our enemies can be made able to face us again at ſea.---We are not now to ſpeak of the impolicy, or the ſagacity---the juſtice or injuſtice, of *firſt* undertaking the conteſt; but to reaſon, and to act on the exiſting ſtate of affairs. It might be difficult to vindicate an interference with the internal policy of any other country, independent as ourſelves, except, as in *this caſe*, when ſuch internal policy is found to operate *externally*, to

* 'Tis better uſing France, than truſting France:
Let us be back'd with God and with the Seas,
Which he has given for force impregnable.

In them, and in ourſelves, our ſafety lies.

HASTINGS, in HENRY VI.

the

the end of an inordinate aggrandizement, deſtructive of our welfare, and big with the moſt alarming and incalculable miſchiefs. The Britiſh miniſters, who, if Louis XVI were ſtill ſeated on the Throne of France, had ſuffered him to invade and over-run Flanders and Brabant, and give laws on the Scheldt, without inſtantly declaring war; or with the *poltronerie* of an *Acuda**, ſhould ſhrink from the conflict, and though the game were more loſing than at preſent, agree to let their country paſs under the yoke of the Republic, ought certainly to be impeached; and would deſerve a much worſe ſentence than the voyage to Botany-Bay.

While France makes the mere poſſibility of retaining the Low-countries, out-weigh in the ſcale of her policy the ſure re-poſſeſſion of her American Iſlands, ſhe gives an unequivocal proof of her intention to continue a belligerant and turbulent Republic†, abandoning, for the ſake of ſo monſtrous and vague a ſcheme of ambition, many of her moſt conſiderable cities‡, together with numberleſs bleſſings which nothing but a ſolid peace can inſure.

"Zeal is abſolutely neceſſary in a conflict with adverſe zeal‖."—There is a ſluggiſh inert-

* The Duke D'Acuda, now called the Prince of Peace, and firſt miniſter Spain.

† We may apply to the Sans-culotte Republicans the charge of Menelaus againſt the inhabitants of Troy: "They ſhow a more ſtrong, conſtant, and inſatiate appetite, after bloodſhed and rapine, than others to ſatisfy thoſe delicious pleaſures and deſires, which nature has bountifully created for man's enjoyment."

‡ Lyons Bourdeaux, Marſeilles, Nantes, Orleans, La Rochelle, Havre, Rouen:—Theſe eight towns contain altogether near half a million of people; and have no chance of emerging from the diſtreſſes into which they have been plunged by the Revolution, unleſs it be by a renewal of their former Colonial Trade.

‖ Burke.

neſs

neſs uſually attendant upon a ſatiety of comforts, which is but ill-matched againſt "a painful ſenſe of wants‡." If, indeed (as Barras reports) the thermometer of Republican courage riſes in proportion to the miſeries they ſuffer—it ought in another ſeaſon to mount to a degree of ardor beyond what fable ever pretended of a Perſeus, or a Hercules.

What the enemy teſtifies ſo infuriate a deſire to deprive us of—our property, our altars, our liberty—it behoves us to defend with as determined a reſolution†. It is with the moſt wary caution that any thing ſhould be borrowed from the preſent French ſyſtem; yet a little of their audacity of enterpriſe might not be amiſs.—Make them look to their own coaſts, inſtead of approaching our's—and if they neglect to line them well with ſoldiers (and to a great extent) we may, by conſtantly hovering over them, ere long, find out a penetrable part. That power

‡ The famous Prince Eugene, of Savoy, aſked the Chevalier Cappelli (an officer in the Imperial army) whence it happened, that he, who was at one time the moſt forward of all the volunteers at a daring aſſault, had, during the two laſt Campaigns, never once offered himſelf for ſuch ſervice?——"Prince," replied the Chevalier, "I was then *in very deſperate circumſtances*:—by the death of a rich old uncle, Fortune and I are reconciled; I have therefore done with all raſh adventures; and have now no claim to your Highneſs's eſteem remaining, except from perſonal attachment, and good conduct in my proper line of duty."

† It is the exceſs of folly to imagine one Engliſhman able to fight two Frenchmen; or *vice-verſâ*. The equality ſtands atteſted by many a hardy trial. Their Land forces ſeem to have more of the *qui-vive*, and more mercurial alertneſs, about them than our's, but not more valour; and the Britiſh Tar ſhows all the agile intrepidity of the fierceſt whiſkered *Carmagnol*, from whoſe Barbarian phrenſy he ſhrinks back appalled, whilſt he laughs at vapouring and bravado.

which, with an inferior ſtrength at ſea, preſumes to make an invaſion, is not more blameable than the oppoſite one, which having dominion afloat, ſleeps over ſuch advantage, and undertakes none. When the late armament was known to be on its departure from France, our fleet ought to have been ready for ſea; and, far down Channel to the weſtward as poſſible.—Plymouth is too dangerous a place—Torbay is the fitteſt to wait an eaſterly wind.—To depend ſolely on our weſtern ſquadron (meant for action) to obſerve the enemy's motions, is not enough; nor perhaps were it wiſe in the depth of winter to let our large ſhips beat off Uſhant, and along thoſe perilous coaſts. When we have advice of an equipment in readineſs to weigh anchor, a vaſt number of veſſels ſhould be ſpread in every direction over the home ſeas.—Cutters, *aviſos*, of various ſizes, and even row-boats, beſides frigates, and ſloops of war—eſpecially from longitude 5 deg. W. of Greenwich, to 10 deg. (which is the edge of channel ſoundings) for the immediate purpoſe of intelligence.—No matter if two or three of them be captured.—It is impoſſible, if this precaution were obſerved, that a fleet of fifty veſſels, or forty, among which are ſeveral heavy-ſailing tranſports, could leave Breſt water, and remain forty-eight hours at ſea without being diſcovered. The plea of navigating incognito, under maſk of a fog, is too ridiculous! poſſibly, however, it may be thought

thought more judicious to entice them out of harbour, and we ſhall not be ſorry to ſee their late marvellous eſcape induce another ſuch embarkation ‡.

To have relinquiſhed our empire over the Mediterranean and Levant ſeas, though but for a day, muſt be regarded as an untoward event, leaving Italy altogether at the mercy of the French, opening a communication to their ſhipping with the Atlantic and weſtern ports, from Toulon and Carthagena; and riſking an immediate federal compact between that Republic and the pirates of Barbary.—So ſoon, however, as the vernal equinox has paſſed over, we ſhall of courſe re-aſſume that ſtation, with a ſquadron ſuperior to the enemy. Certain it is, that thoſe perſons who really *know* Gibraltar, and ſuggeſt an idea of ceding it, for *any conſideration whatever*, cannot act upon any other principle than an inſidious malevolence towards this country; ſo evident and ſo mighty is its importance to Great Britain:—and full as juſt were it, to impute to Portſmouth, or Plymouth, *locally*, the expence of our Fleets and Docks at thoſe Ports, as to reckon the troops and naval ſtores at Gibraltar, an additional burthen to the ſtate.—

‡ It was (according to Euſtathius) an ancient practice in Attica and ſome others of the Grecian ſtates, for the public cryer to invite all perſons (whatever their quality age, or deſcription) in time of extreme difficulty and danger, to give a free opinion thereupon. In England, we are ſo good to ſave Government the trouble both of Crier and Invitation.

Not a ſingle regiment, nor one veſſel, the fewer, ought we to keep, with tolerable prudence, even on a moſt economical peace-eſtabliſhment, though we were deprived of that fortreſs. We have in England, ſeveral ſeminaries for the education of children and ſtriplings intended for the military profeſſion; but not ſo good a ſchool for grown gentlemen in the army as Gibraltar. For engineers and for garriſon-duty, there is no other.

King George the Firſt had privately ſtipulated with Spain, to reſtore Gibraltar. The ſecret was divulged, and many ſpirited remonſtrances came up to the Throne againſt ſuch a meaſure, from the counties of Dorſet and Devon, and they would ſoon have become general throughout Great Britain. His Majeſty, therefore, choſe rather to forfeit his word at Madrid, than the allegiance or affection of his ſubjects. George the Second, in 1729, by advice of his miniſters, ſent a meſſage to the Two Houſes, deſiring their concurrence to fulfil his Father's promiſe, and laid before them the letter of George the Firſt, to the Catholic King; but Parliament wiſely and indignantly rejected the propoſal, and addreſſed the Crown, to *take care in the Treaty of Peace, that Gibraltar was on no account ſurrendered**.

* We have dwelt on this Topic more diffuſely than we ſhould have thought requiſite, but that *we know* ſuch a SURRENDER to be under deſignation (for ſome months paſt) with the French government; and agents are now induſtriouſly at work, in England, to render it palatable.

We muſt, by our redoubled exertions, reduce the Republicans * ſomewhat within bounds of reaſon; let them keep within the pale of their own proper territory—we, to our's:—whenever they may be actuated by ſo juſt a diſpoſition, it will clearly manifeſt itſelf without our courting any more affronts in a ſecond mendicant embaſſy to Paris; which can anſwer no better end than to aggravate and inflame mutual animoſities.—The inſtant the happy day arrives when we are cordially to ſhake hands, the pen of hiſtory ſhall fix up, for a *memento* to our ſucceſſors, the ſad picture of *our* Times.—French and Engliſh, the moſt enlightened people on God's earth!——Philoſophers and philanthropiſts ("as ye are pleaſed to call yourſelves") caſt but a retroſpective glance on the courſe of the eighteenth century, and then reflect, if you can, without the deepeſt incarnate bluſh, that, out of ninety-ſix years of it already elapſed, ye have ſpent forty in cutting each other's throats! May ſuch wrongs to humanity find ſome atonement by future and inviolable ſacrifices to peace and concord! If any unhappy difference in your politics ſhould again ariſe, avoid, above all things,

* Their levies of men for the laſt campaign were forced; unleſs it be ſome daring bands, in the ſouthern departments of the Republic, who ſpeculated upon a profitable ſackage of Rome: — The reſt were, moſtly, an undiſciplined, ſtraggling party; only practiſed in ſhouldering a pike for their town-guard;—and ſo reluctantly did they march, that they were at length driven to their poſts, before ſtrong eſcorts of dragoons.

an

an appeal to the Demon of War; let *him* lie chained deep in the marſhes of Mantua! as was ſung by the divine Mantua Bard ‡, when Auguſtus bleſſed the Roman world with tranquillity and plenty.

Be *Pallas* your arbiter, rather than *Mars!* not clothed with her martial attributes—the blazing Gorgon, the ſable-creſted helm, and blood-ſtained ſpear; but in her mild *Athenian* character, as protectreſs of thoſe arts which both nations ſo well know how to cultivate: under the arbitry of wiſdom, ye can only contend for the palm of praiſe-worthy actions, nor be emulous but to acquire the eſteem and admiration of the reſt of mankind.

N.B. The writer of a Pamphlet entitled, "AMBO," &c. and the Editor this ESSAY, reciprocally imparted their ideas, a few months ago, on the population of Great Britain and France; they have not met ſince that time;—each has been induced to print his Statement, unknowing that the *other* purpoſed to do the ſame. This will account to a reader of both Publications for many ſeeming Plagiariſms.—The reſult of their enquiries is, in ſubſtance, perfectly accordant, notwithſtanding ſome ſhades of difference in the detail. AMBO ſuppoſes a million of inhabitants in London, Weſtminſter, and their precincts: and though but 900,000 are here admitted, we muſt acknowledge his computation more generally received. A ſalutary leſſon may perhaps need repetition, when (as in the preſent caſe, touching the ſuperior might of the enemy) there are deep-rooted prepoſſeſſions and errors to remove.

‡ ——————"Furor impius Intus,
Sœva ſedens ſuper Arma, & centum vinctus aënis,
Poſt tergum nodis, fremit horridus! ore Cruento."

VIRGIL.

APPENDIX.

*** *See Page* 43.

INCARCERATION.

THE number of adults impriſoned in France, under various pretexts, ſince the Revolution commenced, has exceeded four hundred thouſand; ſome of them (as their warrant of commitment ſat forth) only "*Soupçonné d'être ſuſpect*†." Multitudes died in priſon, or in conſequence of diſtempers contracted, and hardſhips ſuffered, during confinement. Others, and thoſe not a few, have ſince ſunk into a melancholy and incurable ſtate of lunacy; when the head of Robeſpierre fell on the ſcaffold, twenty-one thouſand ſtood on the *Ecrous* (Jail-rolls) at Paris. The keepers had been directed by the two committees not to make a public declaration of more than two-thirds of their liſts; ſo that fifteen thouſand were the utmoſt officially reported, on the printed journals. In June, 1794, Barrere told the Convention, it had become indiſpenſably needful to "*déblayer*" (clear out) the priſons;

† "*Suſpected* of being *an object of ſuſpicion.*

and

and every leading ſtep to this grand operation was inſtantly adopted by the *Commune:* all who were then in recluſion, hoſtages, &c. were deprived of razors, ſciſſars, knives‡, and completely ſtripped, as in Auguſt, 1792, preparatory to the butcheries which enſued on the ſecond of September, of that year.

At *Du-Pleſſis,* they ſeparated the back yard into two diviſions (by a high croſs wall) one of which was for a private Guillotine, the other for erecting a mock Tribunal, upon the plan of the former Septembrizers*. Large pits were dug, near twenty feet deep in the interior courts of moſt of the jails, deſtined for ſecret *dépôts* of dead bodies, after the maſſacre; *les Foſſes de la Magdelène,* the common repoſitory for Robeſpierre's victims, being already full†. Fouquier Tinville, public accuſer, had repreſented to adminiſtration, the evil conſequences that might poſſibly reſult from exhibiting ſo many headleſs trunks, *en-maſſe,* to the view of the populace; but "repeated apprehenſions of a revolt in the priſons imperiouſly urged government to this *déblaye-*

‡ Even to iron compaſſes for rolling the hair, bodkins, and needles.

* In September, 1792, the aſſaſſins eſtabliſhed a ſort of criminal judicature at the wickets of *La Force,* and the Abbey of St. Germaine, with a conciſe form of condemning each individual before he was ſlaughtered.

† The keepers of the priſons were ordered by the Police, at a time of great ſcarcity (in the ſummer of 1794) to avail themſelves of the ſhambles of the Guillotine, as a never-falling reſource for meat. *Hali,* chief jailor of the *Collége du Pleſſis,* uſed pleaſantly to call this diſh, "A *Ragout de Ci-devant,*"—Vide Mémoires ſur les Priſons de la Force & du Pleſſis, Paris, 1795.

ment

ment, from a motive of ſelf-preſervation; nor could the ordinary proceſs anſwer the purpoſe intended; for recruits poured in ſo faſt to the houſes of detention, the ſum-total, even at one hundred executions per day, muſt rather go on to augment than diminiſh."

Conflagrations.

In the autumn of 1793, the legiſlature enjoined the armies of the weſt to employ fire, as well as the ſword, in a ſpeedy deſtruction of th Vendée; nor was their obedience to this mandate confined to woods and faſtneſſes; for it has been fully atteſted, that many barns, and even churches, crowded with captive Catholics, were ſurrounded and committed to the flames, amidſt the yells of a Jacobin ſoldiery. Several thouſand perſons have, at different times, during the Revolution, periſhed by exploſions of gunpowder. At the Grenelle†, near Paris; magazines in Savoy, at Landau, &c. &c.

Famine.

There was, throughout France, in 1794, and 1795 *, not only a dreadful want of every kind

† The Combuſtion altogether, which happened at *La Grenelle*, in 1794, coſt 2500 lives; moſtly ingenious artizans, who had families.

* A ſcarcity of proviſions throughout the interior of the Republic, has been univerſally felt ever ſince, and to this hour; but not to that exceſs of miſery as in the years here particularized.

of

of ſubſiſtence for the people, but what the generality of them ate (excepting garden-roots) of a moſt unwholſome quality;—their bread, an indigeſtible mixture—the bakers being governed by a fixed and regulated weight, but without any check at all upon the ingredients they made uſe of. Hence the mortality was ſuch (eſpecially among new-born infants) that, from one end of the Republic to the other, it wore an aſpect of the worſt epidemical diſeaſe. So late as the 13th of November laſt, 1796, it was repreſented to the Council of Five Hundred, by one of its members (Dumolard) that, "in the alms-houſes at Lyons, of 800 children brought thither by their parents, whom the Revolution had deprived of every means to maintain them, 760 died for want of nouriture ‡."

Suicide.

An infinite number of wretches, from deſpair, or a frantic guſt of paſſion, have ſuddenly put an end to their exiſtence: no ſmall proportion of the *latter* has been furniſhed by the Legiſlative Body. Twenty-five of the late Convention have fallen by their own hands; thirteen of whom were members of the *Mountain*. Of theſe Mountaineers, exactly one hundred had diſappeared ſince 1792, and antecedent to the election

‡ *Journal des Débats.*

of

of the *Nouveau Tiers*, in 1795, when ſeveral of them were excluded;—very few indeed are gone by the common courſe of human nature. Some of them have met a recompence due to their iniquitous exploits, at the Guillotine; others, for ſafety, after being detected in new conſpiracies to revive the late ſanguinary ſyſtem, reſorted to that emigration which, in the caſe of the perſecuted Royaliſts, they were ſo ready to enveigh againſt, "as derogatory to the *ſublime* character of a French citizen," even though it ſhould preſent the only poſſible means to preſerve life.

GUILLOTINE.

This inſtrument of death is far from being a modern invention; though ſomewhat different in its conſtruction from the *Maiden* *, known in Scotland, upwards of two hundred years ago.—It alſo reſembles a moveable machine, uſed in the county of York†, at a ſtill earlier period, with which, in the exerciſe of a particular municipal juriſdiction, delinquents were inſtantaneouſly beheaded, when caught in the fact of ſtealing woollen cloths from the places where they were dreſſed or tentered.

The extinction of life ſeems inſtantaneous—

* Kelly, in his "*Scottiſh Proverbs explained*," (Octavo, London, 1721) ſays, it was "invented and handſelled by the Regent Morton." Hume, and the hiſtorians of Scotland, in general, though they relate many particulars of that Earl's execution, take no notice of this maiden.

† At Halifax in Yorkſhire, and neighbouring Corporations.

the axe of the Guillotine in one moment ſevers the head from the ſhoulders; when the only ſenſation in any part of the human frame is, that the feet are ſometimes ſeen to give a convulſive ſpring to a direct horizontal line with the legs and thighs.

They are ſo alert in the exerciſe of it, that, in April, 1795, Fouquier Tinville, with ſixteen of the bloody jury, his confederates, were beheaded in nineteen minutes; and on the eleventh of July, 1794, forty-two perſons were diſpatched in three quarters of an hour—though the baſket was changed four times‡, which of courſe cauſed ſome delay.

How many have been guillotined in divers parts of France, cannot eaſily be known. They amount in Paris to not quite 4000; moſt of them within the laſt ſix months of Robeſpierre's tyranny.

A valet of *Sanſon*, executioner-in-chief, having boaſted that the perquiſite of dead mens' clothes was worth to his maſter 200 Louis d'ors per week; an order iſſued thereupon, that in future, the dreſſes of thoſe who fell under *La*

‡ There is a wicker baſket, or hamper, with a lid, near ſix feet long, which may contain ten trunks, and as many heads; the latter being chucked in by the Executioner ſo ſoon as he has exhibited it to the ſpectators. Whenever a baſket is full, they lower it down from the ſcaffold, and it is ſucceeded by an empty one.

*Glaive de la Loi**, ſhould be kept at the diſpoſal of government; and, in the hard winter of 1794, ſeveral priſoners of both ſexes being almoſt naked, theſe wardrobes were opened, to ſupply them with a covering†.

Of all the eloquent ſpeakers among the *Girondins*, Vergniaux was accounted the moſt eloquent:—"If (ſaid he, to a fellow-priſoner, in going from *La Force* to the *Conciergerie)* they will but hear what I have to urge, I don't deſpair of our meeting again ere night; if not, farewell for ever!"——Danton and Herault de Sechelles vehemently oppoſed the admitting Briſſot, or any of that band§, to plead before the Tribunal; and they themſelves were, ſcarce a twelvemonth after, treated with the ſame meaſure of injuſtice, by command of St. Juſt and Robeſpierre, ſupported by the Public Accuſer;—the jury declaring ſo ſoon as the court was opened, that they had already enlightened their conſciences‡ enough, on the matter.—Danton made repeated efforts to

* The Sword of Juſtice.

† At the Luxemburgh Priſon, Mademoiſ. Ro——t, being called down from her chamber, to the houſe-keeper's apartment, was ſhown a heap of ſtockings, and told to chooſe any pair might beſt fit her. Caſting an eye upon the parcel, ſhe inſtantly fainted away, and fell on the floor: one of the ſtockings ſhe ſaw marked with her own needlework—the initial letters of her father's name; and this was the firſt intimation ſhe had received of his unhappy end.

§ Briſſot, and 21 of the ſame party, were all condemned together, including Valazé, who ſtabbed himſelf in Court, and died on the ſpot.

‡ "Suffiſament éclairées."

harangue

harangue the Tribunes *, but was immediately compelled to ſilence, by his judges.

One Vermantois, formerly an officer in the army, was condemned, in lieu of another man of the ſame name, canon of the cathedral of Chartres, and with whom he was totally unacquainted.

Citizen Beaumont was guillotined for Citizen Chaumont;—in vain he repreſented the miſtake, implored, and argued; they inſiſted the charge muſt have been intended againſt *him*—that there was but little difference in the ſpelling, "ſtill leſs in the ſound, of the two names."—So he was hurried away to execution.

Ma——e de M———, a young lady, aged about eighteen, was impriſoned and put to death inſtead of her elder ſiſter ‡, who had been denounced in a popular ſociety, for counter-revolutionary ſentiments.

The covered cart came one evening to *La Force*, for its uſual complement of victims, to be conveyed to the *Conciergerie*, and from thence to the Guillotine;—to complete the fare, they obliged a priſoner, who was not actually on the liſt of thoſe required by *Fouquet*, to go off with the reſt; but on the other hand, on the 8th Ther-

* The Galleries.

‡ This is a ſingular inſtance of heroiſm; it has ſince been diſcovered that Mademoiſelle de M——— encouraged the error, that ſhe might die, and ſave her ſiſter, who was a married woman, with a family of children.

midor, at night, the driver ſent to the Luxembourg, maintained, that his cart would hold no more than what had entered; and, after ſome wrangling with the jailor, obſtinately ſtuck by his refuſal to admit one of the number demanded, and who ſtood ready at the wicket. The poor fellow was therefore reſerved to come firſt of the next aſſortment; Robeſpierre went in his place, and he now keeps a reputable ſhop near the Pont-neuf, at Paris.

Of thirty-nine general-officers accuſed and confined at the abbey of St. Germaine, between May 1793, and the ſame month in 1794, nineteen ſuffered death; though none of them, unleſs it be La Tendiere, and Brunet, were in fact royaliſts;—all the others had been faithful, and moſt of them zealous and ſucceſsful, ſervants to the Republic.

One of the jury of the criminal court, a ſtone-maſon, and employed by the keeper of the abbey in putting-up a ſtove-grate, obſerving general Baiſſer in the paſſage, he aſked, if *he* was to come ſoon before the court? becauſe they wiſhed to uſe diſpatch.—"The more diſpatch the better (replied Baiſſer); the guilty ſhould ſuffer, the innocent be ſet at liberty."—We ſhall make ſure of the guilty, by excepting none; the innocent, if ſuch there are, and

true

true patriots, cannot repine at dying for their country; and the ſafety of the Republic might be endangered, if even one traitor, practiſed as you ſoldiers are in manœuvres, and what I think you call, *tactics*, ſhould happen to eſcape.—" You will try the cauſe."——How ſhould we get through our buſineſs, if we were to waſte our time in liſtening to your tales and lamentations *? — He was, the week following, ſummoned to the Tribunal, and the maſon and his colleagues ſent Baiſſer to the other world, without giving him permiſſion to ſay a ſingle ſyllable in his defence.

General and Madame Quetino, were a young couple, extremely attached to each other; they had one ſon, about four years old, who uſed daily to viſit, with her, the unhappy father, confined at the Abbey of St. Germain, upon Jacobin ſuſpicion. It was ſignified, in March, 1794, by order of the *Committé de Sureté Générale*, that all thoſe in cuſtody were to be inſtantly put *au ſecret* † *!*—The news of their ſeparation was ſo afflicting to this fond pair, that they concerted various meaſures to accelerate the General's trial, knowing that no ſubſtantial charge could be brought againſt

* " Des Contes & des Teremiades."

† When put *(au ſecret)* in ſecret, no communication whatever is allowed beyond the walls of the dungeon.

him;

him. It occurred to the wife, that on ſollicit-ing Hebert (commonly called *Père du Chêne)* in whoſe company the General had once found himſelf impriſoned, during a fortnight, they might, through his interpoſition, attain ſo reaſonable a requeſt; ſhe, therefore, ſent a ſupplicatory note, ſaw him by appointment, and received promiſes of ſervice. Some days after, Robeſpierre guillotined Père du Chêne†, at whoſe houſe, in a ſcrutoire, among a large maſs of papers, appeared Madame Quetino's note; and, in conſequence thereof, ſhe and her huſband were arraigned as his accomplices, and condemned to death. The General forth-with executed—the ſame judgment paſſed on the lady—the inflicting of it was, however, protracted, as ſhe ſhowed an advanced ſtate of pregnancy: ere three days elapſed, ſhe was delivered in priſon of a dead child — the pangs of labour ſcarce over, came two *Gendarmes*, with a TOMBEREAU*, and dragged her out of bed to undergo the ſentence. Perceiving, as ſhe dreſſed herſelf, that ſhe had fine long hazle treſſes, which fell as low as her waiſt, each trooper ſeized on them, at once, as his ſpoil, and kept tearing different ways, till her cries and their quarrels brought up a turnkey, who ſettled the diſpute, by cutting the hair in

† Hebert had long been trying to ſupplant Robeſpierre in the eſteem of the populace, by even ſurpaſſing *him* in impiety and villainy.

* A Tombereau is like a London dung-cart.

two parts, and equally dividing it betwixt the combatants.—Madame Quetino was then conveyed to the guillotine, but ſeemed totally deprived of her ſenſes, and almoſt motionleſs. She was a delightful, and very accompliſhed perſon.—It has ſince been decreed by the Convention, that no woman is henceforward to be adjudged on a criminal accuſation*, while pregnant.

Houchard was a ſoldier of fortune, and, much againſt his will, made Commander-in-chief of the army of the north.—He had ſignalized himſelf while a ſubaltern in the cavalry. He was lodged at the abbey, in the ſame cortidor with an Engliſh lady (Mrs. P—t) and took every opportunity when his door was left unbolted (for the purpoſe of filling his pitcher with water) to converſe frankly with her. "I am to die for not having driven your Engliſh prince into the ſea.—This is the indirect charge, and not one military man among all my Judges; they ſtate, that I had 60,000 men; I commanded 36,000 only, of which 18,000 were excellent troops; the remainder—undiſciplined ruſtics, and only to be puſhed on by artificial means; unluckily, we had no brandy left.—I am little verſed in hiſtory; yet, ſometimes read what particularly intereſts my own profeſſion: and I could not

* There ſhould be the ſame law in every country of the world.

but

but recollect at the time, that not far from our camp were two memorable fields of battle, in both which, your countrymen gave proof of what a very few, the flower of a brave nation, may atchieve, when driven to a deſperate alternative†."

So ſoon as the general came into court, and his perſon recognized, the jury called out, "We are ſatisfied; *peine de mort**. At that inſtant, Houchard ſprang from the chair in which they had placed him, and forced his way over the tables, to the ſeats of the judges, who eſcaped by flight into a back-room. It was long before he could be ſecured and bound. He was about 38 years of age, ſix feet two inches high; and endued with wonderful active force; not the clown-like ſtrength of the Farneſian Hercules, but the ſuelt and elaſtic vigour of the famous aſſailing gladiator, at the *villa Borgheſe*‡, of which we have ſo many good copies in Great-Britain. From that day forward, all priſoners, while at the tribunal, have been tied in the *Terrible Fauteuil*§, with cords. General Houchard, to

† Creſſy (in Ponthieu) and Azincourt (in Artois) neither of which is twelve leagues from Caſſel.

* Death.

‡ In Italy.

§ This is the term commonly given by the printers in Paris, to the arm-chair allotted for priſoners on trial; who do not ſtand at a bar, as in England.

the

the moment of his death, ſhowed a manly and ſtern bravery. Far otherwiſe *Cuſtine*, who, perhaps, merited his fate, but not at the hands of the republic. He was the laſt who, on the ſcaffold, had the ſpiritual aſſiſtance of a prieſt. He trembled and became quite unmanned, before he parted with his confeſſor, and ſeemed to feel ſomething within him, that carried a much ſharper edge than the inſtrument under which he fell. His ſon, a youth 24 years old, had, at Mentz, behaved ſo gallantly, and gained ſuch laurels, as ought, at leaſt, to have ſaved him from the deſtiny of his father; nor was any perſonal charge produced againſt him. They had before viſited the preſumed delinquency of the parent upon the offspring, in the caſe of the younger Blanchelande, who was alſo (at about the ſame age) executed moſt wrongfully!— "There (exclaimed Fouquier Tinville, when he preſented him to the jury) you ſee, Citizens, before you, the ſon and co-adjutor of the infamous governor of St. Domingo*, to whom you have already awarded his juſt due,

* Monſ. Blancheland, a Major-General, beheaded at the *Carrouſel*, in Paris, March, 1793. He abided by the conſtitution, the king, and the laws, to which he had taken an oath of fidelity, when Capt. General of that Colony. Condemned to the Guillotine, he ſaid, "I have maintained the true character of a ſoldier throughout life, nor will I quit it whilſt I have breath." He died with undaunted courage.

at the guillotine. It is owing to *them*, that we have loſt the moſt valuable of all our colonies; and that ſugar and coffee are now ſcarcely to be had in Paris, at any price."—The voices for his death were unanimous.

The old German baron, Trenck, conſpicuous by having provoked the wrath of the late king of Pruſſia—the hard puniſhment that followed, and exaggerated accounts of that puniſhment, in moſt of the languages of Europe, bleſſed himſelf, that he had eſcaped regal tyranny, and found ſhelter under the liberties of France. He was kept long immured at La Force, as a ſuſpected ſtranger; from thence transferred to St. Lazare, became implicated in a pretended conſpiracy of the priſoners, and was condemned to the guillotine. Devoted, from his cradle, to fiction, it was, at length, by a fiction he loſt his life. Amidſt a numerous groupe with which *Dupleſſis* furniſhed the ſcaffold, was ſeen one of the Sombreuils, a boy under twenty. A ſtrictly faithful narrative of all that has befallen the ill-fated race of *Sombreuil*, would prove deeply intereſting to every feeling heart, and have as much of the pathetic in it, as the embelliſhing fancy and ſeducive ſtyle of Mrs. Robinſon, or Mrs. Radcliffe, could give to any novel.

Egalité,

Egalité, Duke of Orleans, conceived, on the morning of his death, that he would be acquitted ere noon.—Identified, condemned, and led to execution, all within a ſpace of three hours, his mind was in ſo profound a ſtupor, that as he went to the Place of the Revolution (*tête-à-tête*, in the cart, with a lock-ſmith's apprentice) he never once lifted his eyes, nor ſhowed any ſign of animation, till he reached the *Palais-royal.* There, between the magnificent public theatre* he had juſt built, and the balcony at which he ſtood, picking his teeth, ſtoically to behold the bloody head of the Princeſs of Lamballe on a pike, the guard ſtopped the cavalcade, pretending to breathe the horſes.—Oh! what a dreadful interval of recollection ruſhed in between the fits of torpidity—nothing but ſuch crimes as his could deſerve the agonizing ten minutes he paſſed oppoſite the door of his former palace. When the cart moved on, his intellects ſeemed again eſtranged from every object around him.

There is a kind of Roſpo (or toad) frequently ſeen in olive-groves and vine-yards throughout the kingdom of Naples, which occaſionally ſwells itſelf to a great ſize. His eyes

* Now called the Theatre of the Republic.—It joins le Palais-royal.

are round and gogling, like a flaming carbuncle, and appear to emit ſparks of fire. Some naturaliſts call it the baſiliſk.—The ſupreme delight of this hideous animal is, to enſnare nightingales, in the midſt of their moonlight melody. Placing himſelf under a tree, raiſing his ſquat head, and making a rawking noiſe, he at laſt engages the prey to fix his aſpect. The elevation of the branch where it ſits perched, makes no difference; for the magnetic attraction of the eye of the toad is ſuch, that the poor little bird keeps flitting down, from ſpray to ſpray, with a tremulous wing, and heart-breaking carol, till it touches the ground, and reſigns itſelf to its mortal enemy.—As ſtrong a power of faſcination drew the *Counteſs du Barri*, three years ago, from London to Paris; when ſhe flew with all the ſpeed that poſt-horſes could give, from ſtage to ſtage, nor ſtopped till ſhe delivered herſelf into the maw of a Jacobin anthropophage*. A few months before her laſt journey, ſhe eſcaped to England (with ſufficient wealth) from the port of Boulogne. Some of the rabble were ſeeking a lantern-ſtring, and others breaking the caſements of the *Hôtel de la Vignette* (that ſhe had juſt left)

* A man-eater.

while

while the veſſel aboard which ſhe embarked was ſtill in ſight of the beach. The dejection of mind, and feeble nerve that Madame du Barri ſhowed on the guillotine, might have paſſed as natural to her ſex, under ſo terrible an ordeal, if it were not a rare and almoſt ſingle inſtance, in the courſe of this marvellous revolution. Some days after, the Princeſs Elizabeth, ſiſter of Louis XVI, was allotted the ſame tragic part. What a ſtriking contraſt in the reception of death! But not more than in their lives!—Having no fault, ſince her birth, which art and calumny could improve into a plauſible crime, they killed her for too conſpicuous a virtue. She had ſent away her jewels, and diſarrayed herſelf of every article of value in her attire, perſonally, to relieve her brother, the Count of Provence*, then in exile, and expoſed to preſſing diſtreſs.—To correſpond, in any ſhape, with a prince of the blood, who had dared to be a transfuge from regicide, was an act of high treaſon†.

It were impoſſible to contemplate the pure ſpirit of this young woman but with the moſt

* Now Louis XVIII.

† Immolated in the preſence of at leaſt 300,000 Pariſians. She was the laſt, of eight, taken out of the *Tomberau* by the executioner, and was tied to the railing by a cord.

ſacred

ſacred veneration. Fame will eternize her worth; and reaſon, untinctured by ſuperſtition, pronounce—That if ever an angel of Heaven, animated human clay, it was—*Elizabeth de Bourbon*.

The cruel ſufferings, the condemnation, and ignominious* death of the venerable Marſhal de Mouchi†, and the Duke de Villeroi ‡; whom neither the cautious and placid ſubmiſſion of the *one*, nor proſtration and munificent gifts to the republic by the *other*, could ſave, fully juſtifies thoſe emigrants, who, born to exalted rank and envied fortunes, in their own country, *early* ſought refuge in ſome foreign ſoil, from a ſyſtem founded on oppreſſion, and the moſt ſavage inhumanity towards all of their order.

Luckner, by birth a German, had, ſoon after the war broke out, in 1755, the command of a legion, in the Hanoverian ſervice, and acquired ſome ſhare of renown, as a bold

* And yet, when puniſhment ſtrikes the guiltleſs, it is to the inflicters of it, that the ignominy attaches, not to the victims.

† The Marſhal Duke de Mouchi, younger brother to the Duke de Noailles (likewiſe Marſhal of France) was ſent to the guillotine, from the priſon of La Force. So was Monſ. de Villeroi, whoſe horſes, carriages, and almoſt entire income, had been already voluntarily beſtowed on his country, and at whoſe private coſt, while kept in ſtricteſt durance, his domeſtics, ſerving by requiſition, in the national guard, were lodged, clothed, and fed.

‡ Theſe two noblemen were about the ſame age—70.

partiſan

partiſan. Under the firſt conſtitution (verbally ſanctioned by Louis XVI) he was at the head of a French army aſſembled near the Upper Rhine, with a commiſſion of Field-Marſhal; the campaign following received his *congé*, and, during two years, lived retired, in the province of Alſace.

Government ſtill owed his appointments, to a large amount; which he imprudently claimed—became importunate—receiving nothing, fretfully and openly murmured.

He was committed to the priſon of the Abbey of St. Germain, taxed with in-civiſm, and language of diſaffection towards the State. One morning, at the end of near a twelvemonth, he was ſent for into the parlour of the jail, to undergo a few cloſe interrogatories, with the anſwers to which, they declared themſelves quite ſatisfied. The ſame evening, before the Marſhal lay down to reſt, he called through the interſtices of a grated window, to General Kellerman, who was lodged in an adjoining room, announced the auſpicious termination of his affair, and heartily wiſhed his friend *the ſame fortunate iſſue*.—He was "to go out the next day."—He did go out the next day, but, it was to the ſcaffold! where they paid his arrears with a guillotine; and,

and, by confiſcation of his property, got a receipt in full of all demands†.

The annals of the French Revolution already exhibit many an extraordinary character—none more extraordinary than Charlotte Corday.---Her portrait was drawn while under confinement*, by two limners, in ſome repute; whether or not they thought it dangerous for themſelves, to repreſent her handſome (as common rumor affirms) we cannot decide; certain it is, neither of them has done juſtice to her external graces, nor is there much reſemblance in any of the prints of her, ſold in London, or Paris. --- At the Abbey of St. Germain, prior to her condemnation, ſhe was permitted to accept ſome refreſhment of ices and fruit, in a ſmall room of the priſon, appropriated to the Count d'Aureſburg, chamberlain to his Imperial Majeſty, and late Governor of the citadel of Namur‡. On this gentleman expreſſing much aſtoniſhment that ſhe could be ſo uniformly cheerful and unagitated, ſhe ſaid, " If inward conſcience

† His age ſomewhat exceeded fourſcore.---The youngeſt ſtate offender guillotined under Robeſpierre, was a girl only 14.

* Auguſt, 1793.

‡ An eſtimable officer, of very engaging manners; brother to the Prince of Aureſburg. By capitulation, a priſoner of war, but, on diſcovery of his high birth, was perfidiouſly conſtituted an hoſtage; for ſome time treated with mildneſs; afterwards, with peculiar aſperity and inſult, and, during ſix months of 1794, kept *au ſecret*.

be

be (as I underſtand it) the paramount teſt of right or wrong, inſeparable from our being, and emanating from the divine Judge of All, in dernier reſort, I happily ſtand *better* than acquitted *here* (laying her hand to the pulſation of the heart); and, therefore, truſt I ſhall maintain equal compoſure before any earthly tribunal to which they can lead me, and even amidſt the impoſing apparel of the ſcaffold; yet I muſt not preſumptuouſly aſſume a certitude of my own powers on ſuch an occaſion: by this time to-morrow, Count, the *ſpectacle* will be over; ſhould I be ſuffered to proceed without impediment, through the ſtreets, you will ſcarce be told, hereafter, of any change from what you now ſee; but ſhould the multitude (as I know is menaced) mangle me, and tear my limbs piece-meal while alive, I may probably be overcome by horror, and ſink beneath their tortures."

Some vagabonds, who prided themſelves in the title of *Limiers* de Marat†, had ſung at day-break, under the walls of the Abbey, a ſort of Doggerel *Vaudeville* (or ballad); and among three or four other ſtanzas, the following was diſtinctly heard:

† Marat's blood-hounds.

" O femme infernale !—O horrible forfait !
La Vengeance s'empreſſe—de ton ſang s'enivrer ;
De ce cœur patricide, faire un loyal repas,
Et boire dans ta crane à l'eſprit§ de St. Marat.
Meure Corday !
Meure Corday !
Vive la République *!"

She paſſed to the *Conciergerie*, and from thence† to *La place de la Révolution*‡, quite unmoleſted : --- Her perſonal charms, her enchanting countenance, her ſerene, but dauntleſs, demeanor, had operated upon the ſpectators like a magical ſpell ; they ſtood tranſfixed and ſilent as ſtatues ; ſhe ſtepped firmly up to the frame of the inſtrument, and articulated nothing, except " Mercy, O God !" juſt as the circlet of the guillotine received her head ; which being held, when off, by the

§ Eſprit not only ſignifies ghoſt, but alſo, wit, underſtanding, ſpirit, eſſence, &c. and no term in the Engliſh language conveys its complex ſenſe.

* The following tranſlation is not a poetical one, but it is given as nearly literal :

" O horrible deed !---O woman accurſt !
Revenge---for thy blood owns a Bacchanal thirſt ;
Shall feaſt on that patricide heart ; and the toaſt,
Drunk out of thy ſkull, be to St. Marat's ghoſt,
Die Corday !
Die Corday !
Live the Republic !"

† In a cart, and alone.

‡ The Place of the Revolution fronts the palace and garden of the Thuilleries; it is *there*, where the King, Queen, and Royaliſts in general, have ſuffered ; on the ſame ſpot of ground, intermixing ſtains of adverſe blood, have alſo fallen, the heads of the two Robeſpierres, Briſſot, Henriot, Chaumette, Le Bas, St. Juſt, Couthon, Manuel, &c. &c.---Ariſtocrats, and patriotic demagogues, have ſerved, *tour-à-tour*, to recreate the ſame throng of beholders, and have equally ſhared their amazement and ductile acquieſcence.

hair

hair, bleeding, as uſual, to the view of the people, the executioner, thinking to win their approbation, ſtruck it, with his other hand, a violent blow on one cheek: an Adminiſtrator, named Michonis, who officially attended on the ſcaffold, ſhocked at ſo ſuperfluous a brutality, immediately laid his cane, with repeated force, over the fellow's back, which was followed by loud ſhouts of applauſe, and an univerſal cry of *bravo! bravo!* How precarious, how inexplicable, the turn and the temper of a mob!

The Adminiſtrator, for this proof of ſenſibility, added to his reſpectful conduct towards the Queen, when on duty at the Temple (who often aſked, with anxiety, if Michonis would ſoon come again?) was put on the Public Accuſer's *black* liſt, and not ſuffered long to ſurvive Charlotte Corday. To her lovely body they denied decent ſepulture, while the beaſtly carcaſe of Marat, peſtiferous‡ as the ſoul which had juſt left it, was, by virtue of a legiſlative decree, conveyed, in plumed and pompous ſtate, to a ſhrine at the Pantheon§! The

‡ He had a leprous diſorder to a very inveterate degree, and had been troubled with it a long time.

§ "*Be juſt, and fear not,*" was the noble principle affixed by the great Earl Camden to his coronet and patent of peerage; on which he wiſhed to found the future glory of his houſe;---he was a ſound philoſopher, an able ſtateſman,

The moſt proper place would have been, a Pandemonium*.

A family the moſt ſplendid, for talents—for graces, both of perſon and mind—for dignities—and for power, of any we ever read of among the French, perhaps, in all the memoirs of Europe, was that of Guiſe:—It loſt, ſome ages ago, its genuine luſtre; no individual of the few collateral branches that have remained to this day (nor, indeed, ſince the reign of Louis XIII) having any better claim to pre-eminence, than what a mere tinſel title, reflected from the brilliant merit of anceſtors, with a rich hereditary ſucceſſion, gives: The Duke de Châtelet, who derived his deſcent from thoſe princes of Lorraine, furniſhes a ſtriking example of the ſiniſter choice Louis XVI made of his favourites.—A monarch, inherently endued with the wiſe ge-

and the revered friend of Mr. Edm. Burke, to whoſe obſervance, henceforeward, we could wiſh to recommend it. The charge in the *Two Letters* (p. 89) which ſays "Churches are only opened for the profane apotheoſis of monſters, whoſe vices and crimes have no parallel amongſt men" (we might cite other paſſages) would have been *juſt*, if publiſhed to the world in 1793 or 1794, not at the cloſe of 1796.---More than two years have elapſed, ſince Marat, Charlier, Le Pelletier, &c. were completely undeified; their relics caſt out to whatever carniverous beaſt, or bird, might deem them worth acceptance.---As to Le Pelletier, nothing remarkable occurs concerning him; only that he pledged his word to vote on *one* ſide of the queſtion, on entering the Legiſlative Convention, and, when it came to a diviſion, gave his ſuffrage in favour of the *other*, for which he was poniarded---of this ſort of duplicity, a *Britiſh Senator* can have no idea!

* Copies of papers have been found ſince his deceaſe, of his own hand-writing, wherein he ſtrives to generalize throughout all the departments of the Republic, the maſſacres of the 2d of September, 1792.

nius

nius of Solomon, and all the pious virtues of an Antonine; yet, if ſwayed by *bad* counſellors and minions, proves the ſcourge and curſe of the nation he governs; whereas, let him by nature be as dull as Æſop's King Log—more miſchievous than King Stork—by the guidance of *good* miniſters, his reign ſhall be reſplendent, and his people live proſperous and happy*.

Monſieur de Châtelet, loaded with honours, and inveſted with offices for which he was very ill qualified, had even for a time been talked of, at Verſailles, as the intended firſt miniſter of France:—In his military capacity, proud, ſelf-aſſured, ſevere, after having the King's own regiment of foot, in which he was enough diſliked, his Majeſty appointed him colonel of the French guards, vacant on the deceaſe of Marſhal Biron, who, through a long ſeries of years, had been regarded by every ſoldier rather in the light of a friend and a father, than of their commander.—As much as Biron was beloved, did his ſucceſſor contrive to be hated; and his harſh mode of diſcipline gradually, but at length fatally, ali-

* As to parts, Louis XVI was far from deficient, and much more correct in his domeſtic conduct, than the idolized Henry IV. A ſimilar note may be offered, reſpecting our unfortunate Britiſh ſovereigns, Henry VI, Charles I, and James II, with whom, on the ſcore of private morals, Edward III, Henry V, Queen Elizabeth, cannot be named. How illuſtrious were Peter I, and the late Czarina of Ruſſia, in their political characters; domeſtically viewed, how infamous!

enated

enated their affection and loyalty from his royal maſter.

Had the Marſhal Duke de Biron lived four years longer, there is little doubt but the French guards would have remained as ſtaunch in their fidelity to the King, as the immortal Swiſs; inſtead of which, the two corps fought againſt each other. United, they were 7000 effective men; and if heartily in compact, might, with triumph, have withſtood the whole diſorderly rabble of Paris.—"The death of one man, at a critical juncture, has brought innumerable calamities on a whole nation. A ſoldier, a child, &c. have changed the face of fortune, and almoſt of nature," &c. &c *.

Moſt of the ruling officers of ſtate, whom Louis XVI had ſelected from a boundleſs *ſuite* of candidates, poſſeſſed not a compaſs of intellect to repay with efficacious public ſervices, the blind partiality that had raiſed them; but they might, in ſome degree, compenſate for ſuch defect, by teſtimonies of zeal and active gratitude.—Alas! they have proved true courtiers †!

There was a weak vibration in the politics

* Read the paragraph in "Two Letters to a Member of Parliament, by the Right Hon. Edmund Burke." We feel highly gratified in quoting Mr. Burke for ſuch ſterling, energetic remarks as theſe. They abound throughout that gentleman's works in general; and we find his language (though perhaps too copious in epithets) inimitably eloquent.

† With but a very few exceptions.

of

of the Duke de Châtelet, when the revolution began, diſgraceful to a man in his ſphere, and ſo much indebted to the crown. A tardy, half-kind of emigrant, he found his way, at laſt, with part of his property, to England, and returned again clandeſtinely to the territory of the republic, with a view to realize a much larger portion: he imagined himſelf ſafe in Picardy, and that his ſecret would continue impenetrable. He had ventured, while in London, to dine with a certain noble Lord (L—d ***): being known at his table to a ſervant, who correſponded with one of the Jacobin faction in France, the company preſent, and the Duke's ſhare of the converſation, ſoon furniſhed ſubject for a letter to Paris: the whole affair was laid open to André Dumont, a deputy of the convention, then in miſſion to the department of the Soame, by whom the Duke de Châtelet was ſeized, and ſhut up in a low dark loft, at the top of the gaol of Amiens, where not a glimpſe of light could enter, even at noon day, but from a candle; nothing be heard, except ſighs and groans, from ſome priſoners confined in a neighbouring garret; and, more loudly than any other voice, the raving of his faithful *valet de chambre*, rendered delirious, from a ſympathetic ſenſe of his maſter's ſorrows, joined to his own captivity and danger.

Advanced

Advanced in years*, and afflicted with an habitual rheumatiſm in his reins, the Duke was obliged to take what little repoſe he could get, *ſitting*. After many days and nights of inceſſant pain, he requeſted the keeper to procure from the phyſician of the gaol, a little opium, or ſome other compoſing draught; which, being conſtrued a deſign to deſtroy himſelf, a centinel from that moment ſtood always at his elbow; a knife, and caſe of razors, were taken from him —the priſon-barber commiſſioned to ſhave "*Citizen Châtelet*," once a week. A berlin and four horſes came at midnight (Oct. 23, 1793) with two commiſſaries, to take him out of the gaol of Amiens, and deliver him to the miniſter of juſtice at Paris. Deſcending the ſtair-caſe, and attempting to croſs an area, beyond which the carriage ſtood, through infirmity of body, rendered weaker by fear, he fell on the pavement, and appeared to be expiring: alarmed, leſt he ſhould die previouſly to his ſentence, by which, immenſe eſtates muſt go to his proper heirs, the commiſſaries ran to awaken André Dumont, and acquainting him with the riſk, the Duke was forthwith remanded to his dungeon.

About a month after, it was judged he might have recovered ſufficient ſtrength to reach town; beſides, a law had paſſed in the interim, to for-

* Seventy.

feit the poſſeſſions and effects of all perſons charged with ſtate crimes, though they happen-to die before trial *.—The Duke de Châtelet was conveyed to Paris, and there guillotined: and an old ſilk *guedon* (or ſtandard) bearing three gold fleurs-de-lys, on an azure field, with great ceremony, burnt at the ſame time, under the ſcaffold, being firſt ſhown to the ſurrounding mob, as a *ſignal de ralliement* (a rallying ſignal) for the royaliſts and catholics†.—Several perſons were involved in his fate: the Ducheſs de Châtelet, executed ſome months later, as participant in her huſband's guilt; ſo was the valet-de-chambre, in the midſt of his phrenzy; and two other domeſtics; likewiſe, a moſt intelligent, ſpirited, amiable young nobleman (an intimate friend of the Duke's) Monſieur le Comte de Demangeville.

* This iniquitous decree having never yet been repealed, remains, of courſe, actually in force.

† The *Guedon* he had received (as was cuſtomary) by his Majeſty's order, from the miniſter of war; and many years prior to the revolution, being nominated to the command of a regiment of cavalry: it had been found by a party of Sans-culottes, in one of the drawers of a commode, when they were employed in ranſacking the Duke's country ſeat.

BRITISH MUSEUM

THE END.

A NEW GEOGRAPHICAL GAZETTEER.

On SATURDAY next, will be publiſhed, in 8vo. Price One Shilling,

With a WHOLE SHEET MAP OF AFRICA, neatly engraved from the beſt Authorities,

(Or with the MAP COLOURED, EIGHTEEN-PENCE)

N° I OF THE

NEW UNIVERSAL GAZETTEER; OR, GEOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY.

Containing a Deſcription of all the

EMPIRES, KINGDOMS, STATES, PROVINCES, CITIES, TOWNS, FORTS, SEAS, HARBOURS, RIVERS, LAKES, MOUNTAINS, AND CAPES,

IN THE KNOWN WORLD;

With the GOVERNMENT, CUSTOMS, MANNERS, and RELIGION of the Inhabitants.

The EXTENT, BOUNDARIES, and NATURAL PRODUCTIONS of each Country; the TRADE, MANUFACTURES, and CURIOSITIES of the Cities and Towns, collected from the beſt Authors; their LONGITUDE, LATITUDE, BEARINGS, and DISTANCES, aſcertained by actual Meaſurement, on the moſt authentic Charts.

By the Rev. CLEMENT CRUTTWELL.

CONDITIONS.

I. THAT this Work ſhall be printed in Medium Octavo, with a new Type, and on a good Paper.

II. THAT it ſhall be publiſhed Once a Week, in Numbers, Price One Shilling; or with the Maps coloured, Eighteen Pence. Each Number to conſiſt of Forty-eight pages of Letter-preſs, and a Map; or, Sixty-four pages of Letter-preſs without a Map.

III. THAT in the courſe of the Work will be introduced a complete Folio Atlas, or ſet of Charts, engraved purpoſely for this Undertaking, from the beſt Authorities.

IV. THAT the whole will be completed in Three large Octavo Volumes, and when finiſhed will be the moſt accurate, as well as the moſt extenſive Work of the kind extant.

*** The Proprietors alſo conceive it but fair to notice, that the Atlas alone, bought at any Printſeller's, ſeparately, would not be obtained under the whole expence attending the Subſcription to this Undertaking.

LONDON: PRINTED FOR THE PROPRIETORS, AND SOLD BY G. KEARSLEY, No. 46, FLEET STREET.

This Work is Entered at Stationers' Hall.

BRITISH MUSEUM

TO THE PUBLIC.

THE many difficulties experienced at all times in the progreſs of hiſtorical ſtudies, and eſpecially during a general war, from the want of an ACCURATE and EXTENSIVE GAZETTEER, have been ſo often acknowledged, and ſo loudly complained of, that, perhaps, a leſs arduous attempt than the preſent might have gratified the expectation of a conſiderable part of the public; and it might have been thought an acceptable ſervice, merely to correct the errors of former works of the kind. This, however, would not have removed objections of a more ſerious nature, to which all our modern books, pretending to be complete ſyſtems of geography, are juſtly liable. Trifling errors might be obvious from the ſenſe, and the miſplacing of a figure would ſeldom lead the *general reader* into a very fatal miſtake. But, beſides their many erroneous ſtatements, it is more ſeriouſly objected, that for all the purpoſes of a ſyſtem of geography, they are materially defective, being drawn from no original ſources, and enriched by no late diſcoveries. Hence error has been perpetuated, while information ſtood ſtill. The Gazetteer that is merely an abridgement, will, at one time or other, be uſeleſs, for who can predict what ſhall be the moſt important ſpots of earth to which public attention may be directed? The experience of the preſent war alone convinces us, that places of ſuch apparent inſignificance as to be over-looked by compilers, who wiſh to narrow their labours, have grown into importance, while their name aud ſituation are unknown, and their connection with other places is left to conjecture, and ſubject to miſrepreſentation. Such are the inconveniences which muſt ever attend a Work of this kind undertaken on a confined ſcale, in conſequence of the abſurd preſumption that any man or ſet of men can preſcribe what places ſhall or ſhall not engage the attention of the political world.

The plan, therefore, of the NEW UNIVERSAL GAZETTEER, is to include EVERY PART OF THE KNOWN WORLD that is capable of deſignation or deſcription;

ſcription; pointing out its ſituation, particular character, its form of government, or a reference to the government to which it is ſubject; its commerce, and productions; and the manners, dreſs, and peculiarities of the people, where thoſe are diſtinguiſhable as a claſs. In laying down ſituations, the diſtances have been carefully meaſured, and the moſt approved Charts have been conſulted for the important articles, LATITUDE and LONGITUDE.

In the accompliſhment of theſe objects, which have engaged the Editor's attention for ſome years, it was his aim to accumulate all that the preſent ſtate of knowledge affords. With this view, therefore, he had recourſe to the moſt approved and indiſputable authorities;—to D'ANVILLE, DE LILLE, MARTINIERE, MORERI, ROBERT DE VAUGONDY, SANSON, JAEGER, HOFMAN, MAIER, MAGINI, DE WIT, MULLER, VISCHER, CAMDEN, BUSCHING, RENNEL, BERNOUILLI, COOK, BERENGER, DUTENS, ARROSMITH, the NEW ATLAS of France, publiſhed by the DIRECTORY; the GRAND MAP of Ruſſia, publiſhed in the Ruſſian language, by order of the late Empreſs, &c. &c. with all the principal modern voyages and travels. To theſe may be added, the communications of ſeveral gentlemen who have ſerved abroad in the preſent war, have been perſonally acquainted with places not generally known, or imperfectly deſcribed, and who have pointed out ſources of information, ſuch as are not often to be met with. For the farther illuſtration of the Work, equal pains have been taken to prepare a ſeries of MAPS, executed at a very great expence, and upon a ſcale ſufficiently large to conſtitute a COMPLETE ATLAS, ſuperior to thoſe which are commonly ſold, and which are deficient in modern diſcoveries and accurate meaſurement.

It would be ſuperfluous to enlarge on the uſefulneſs of a Work which profeſſes to embrace ſo many objects of importance. An UNIVERSAL GAZETTEER is indiſpenſibly neceſſary in the ſtudy of hiſtory, and in commercial correſpondence; nor without it can the progreſs of a war, or the merit of a territorial negociation be underſtood with advantage or facility. The Editor, therefore, flatters himſelf that accuracy of poſition will be found combined with eaſe of reference, and that without being ſo voluminous as to be either expenſive or inconvenient, the NEW UNIVERSAL GAZETTEER is equally calculated to ſhorten the labour and ſatisfy the enquiries of the hiſtorian, the merchant, and the politician.